

Youth

JUNE 16-30, 1968

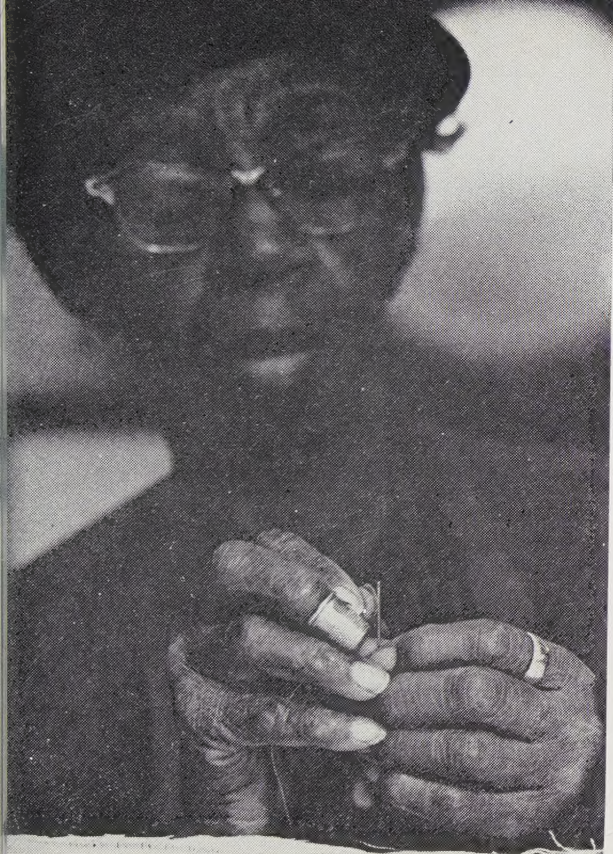
THE RACIAL CRISIS AND YOU



black is beautiful . . .

Photo by Ken Sherman





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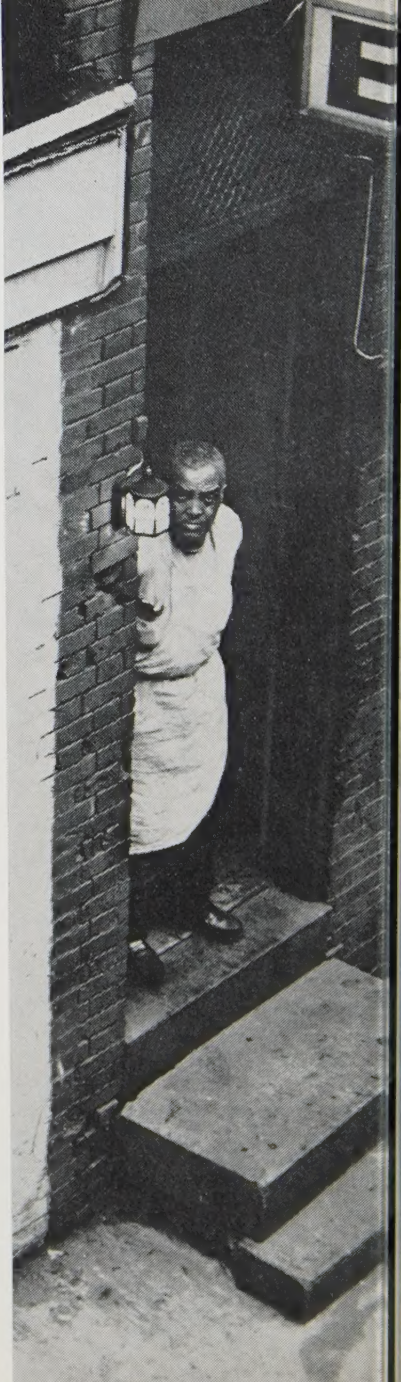
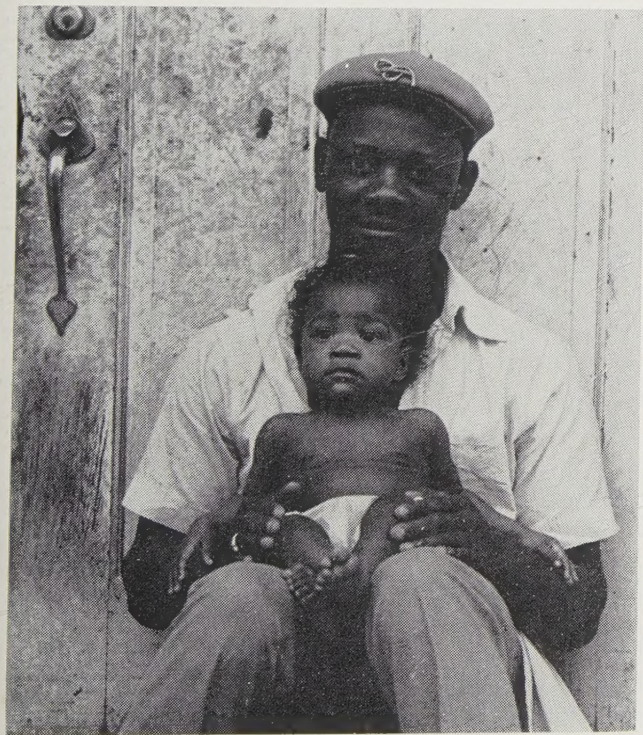


Photo by Ed Eckstein



Photo by Neil Grierman







*SOME
QUESTIONS*
CRISIS
*AND
ANSWERS*

*what happens
when rights
worker visits
classrooms?*



Anytime a group of high school students discuss racial prejudice or the social crises of our day, anything can happen.

Leading such discussions in social studies classes in high schools where he visits is the job of the Rev. Russell B. Barbour. Formerly a field worker or "trouble shooter" for the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, he is now Executive Director of the Human Relations Commission in Allentown, Pa. An ordained minister of the United Church of Christ, Mr. Barbour has written a book for white Christians, *Black and White Together*.

How does he answer the questions most often asked him by high school youth? The following comments are adapted both from his book and from a tape-recording of a typical classroom session.

Why are we prejudiced?

There can be many reasons for prejudice. Among them: fear, ignorance, and misunderstanding. Psychologists have described prejudice in terms of ego-development. That is, in our search for identity as an individual, we look around for someone who seems different from us. And that is natural. But then, in our effort to boost our own worth as a person, we tell ourselves that the way in which we differ is the way in which we're superior. If we feel that I'm smarter, or better looking, or richer, or more devout than you are, then intelligence, physical appearance, wealth, and religion become my criteria for judging my own worth. Experience has shown

these differences to be superficial.

Such differences are often illogical. For example, we make fun of the Negroes' tight curly hair, but we spend time and money to add curl to our own hair. We look down upon those with black skin, but we try to have the darkest suntan in our crowd. Yet these differences—added to a list of other, similarly illogical, differences—have formed the basis for the reasoning by which we have kept Negroes from equal housing, equal education, and equal employment opportunities.

Prejudice is a personal thing.

We have made a hasty, unjust, and unreasonable judgment about a segment of people, not realizing how much our own selves are involved. Perhaps we fear knowing the truth about those against whom we feel prejudice, because we fear knowing the truth about ourselves. We seem to fear change, because we're afraid we're not equipped to adjust to change and we're not sure what change is good or bad. We fear the unknown until we know.

Often, the misunderstandings, fears, and misinformation which nourish prejudice are passed down from generation to generation, making prejudice worse. When I was growing up in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, I was taught to have prejudicial feelings against Roman Catholics, Jews, Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Negroes and Germans, by my parents, school, church, and street. Experience, education, and religion helped me grow in my ability to sift right from wrong. None of us dare stop growing.

Don't you think the Negro is going too fast?

Too fast? When only 11% (in the South, only 1%) of Negro students attend desegregated schools 14 years after the desegregation act? When Negro unemployment is three to ten times that of white unemployment? When a Negro worker was murdered a year ago when he received a promotion in a Mississippi plant? When we have to continue to pass legislation to insure the same rights long guaranteed by the Constitution?

A Negro college graduate may have to turn down an engineering job because there is no chance for him to get a home in that community. White residents and real estate agents have worked to keep Negroes from better housing, and slum landlords charge exorbitant rates for rat-infested apartments, in ghetto sections of our cities. At the time of the Civil War, Negroes made up the majority of the skilled labor in the South—carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, joiners. Today, many trade unions exclude them from apprenticeship programs. Thus, on the road “up” in our society which many immigrant groups have followed—from unskilled laborer, to skilled laborer, to office or service worker, to the professions—the Negroes find many road blocks.

The American Negro sees African nations coming into being and having the kind of freedom that he in the land of the free does not have. He fights his country's war for freedom's sake, and when he comes home he is without it. He has waited a long time. And now the injustices within this affluent and technological society have become so



Prejudice is deeply rooted in our own personal hang-ups

magnified that he is beginning to move ahead to correct them and accuse him of going “too fast.”

Why do white people not want Negroes living on their street?

They are afraid for the wrong reasons. They fear property values will go down. They fear the white neighborhood will be overrun with Negroes. They fear interracial marriages. These reactions are based on myth and erroneous ideas.

The stability of property values depends on whether or not white people panic. Studies show that in 40% of the cases property values went up when a Negro family moved in; in 45% of the cases values were held; and in only 15% did values go down. Included in that 15% were old houses whose value was going down anyway.

Sometimes unscrupulous real estate dealers try to panic people into selling, and force prices down so they can make a profit. If white people don't panic, prices won't go down and neighborhoods won't be overrun." Eventually, as more housing becomes available and as open-housing laws are enforced, integration will come to *all* communities and concentration need not happen in any one community.

Negro families want to move to a community for the same reasons that white people want to live there. Negro parents want the same things for their children as other parents do: good schools, play areas, nice playmates. Buying or building a house in the slum is not a sound investment. And, like us, Negroes do not want anyone telling them where they can or cannot live.

Families who can afford houses in white neighborhoods are not destructive of property. People of the same income bracket take care of their property equally well. Negro families have as much pride in ownership as anyone.

As for whom you marry, no one can force you to marry someone you don't want to marry. Everyone lives in neighborhoods where there are many people you would not want to marry. What if I did not want my daughter to marry someone of a different religious faith; does this justify segregation in housing on the basis of religion? Besides, social patterns show that we seldom date or marry someone in our own block.

What do you think about interracial marriage?

I have four daughters. If they

brought home a Negro boy, I'd want to know the same things about him that I'd ask about a white boy: Who is he, what kind of a guy is he, how is he doing in school, what does he plan to be, what things are important to him? And if someday marriage is contemplated, I'd want to know what makes them think this is the real thing—the kind of love that will last through all of the problems that *all* couples face when they get married and the special problems of interracial marriages.

Actually, interracial marriage has been going on for thousands of years. There is no pure race, despite Hitler's rantings and the racist's preachings. Anthropologically, interracial marriage is a natural thing. All men living today belong to a single species—*Homo Sapiens*. It has never been proved that interbreeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole. History has many examples of hybridization and these are becoming more numerous.

Theologically, God made all of us. Holy writings of all major faiths speak of the dignity of man, of love for neighbors, of God's impartiality toward all men. In the eyes of God, no human is inferior to another human. Your priest, or rabbi, or minister would marry you if you wished to marry someone of another race.

Sociologically, it gets a bit tougher. We have cultural taboos against interracial marriages, because of our past history of a system of prejudice and discrimination to keep the Negro "in his place." This is based mostly on the white man's fear of association with a people who are considered inferior by many

and from feelings that a white class status will be upset.

When interracial marriages do occur, it is generally among mature, educated people—people over 30, often from the professional fields of the arts, education, social work, and frequently self-employed. Young people go away to the big universities to meet people from India, or Africa, or New York City, or Watts—they find they like somebody and they don't see color. They see a person whom they respect because of what he or she believes, because of the way they treat other people, because of their ability, talent, intelligence, and their integrity.

Mixed couples receive stares. They face possible problems from both sets of in-laws, from neighbors, and at the place of work. They face the probability of closer association with the Negro community than with the white. They face twice the chance of divorce than the national average. But as the number of interracial marriages increase and succeed, the stigma will decrease.

And if we believe that the children of a mixed marriage will suffer, can we not see that every child of color suffers? Do we care enough about this fact of history to begin to learn to accept such a child because of his ability and potential and not reject him because of his skin color? When you have children, we'll be living in a new time.

When Negroes get new public housing, why do they ruin it and fill the halls with garbage?

Some of this does happen, and it's because of cultural poverty—never having known a good home life or

acceptable standards. This is the effect of man's inhumanity to man. Let us face clearly the fact that poor people of many minority groups—including American Indians, Appalachian whites, Mexican Americans, as well as Negroes—live in apathy and indifference, because no one really cares about their situation. But one must not stereotype and say that *all* poor people, or *all* people of color, will mistreat a good home.

You must also remember who owns the public housing. It is owned by the city or federal governments—symbols of the white power structure which has kept the Negro at the poverty level. Destroying or abusing this government property is one way of striking out in anger and frustration against this power structure. When Negroes have the opportunity to own their own homes, they take care of their property.

Do demonstrations and riots really do any good?

Our country has a history of demonstrations and protests. Dumping tea in Boston Harbor was an effective demonstration against the British. Labor won its rights through strikes, some of which have been violent. Suffragettes of the 1913-14 era marched from city to city in demonstrations so that women could have the right to vote. Recently farmers have dumped milk or withheld grain to gain their demands.

In every major social or political movement, if the time comes when a group has tried unsuccessfully to achieve its goals by non-violent ways to have its voice heard or to win its cause, then violence erupts as a last resort.

A demonstration at its best is

planned, orderly protest to call public attention to a wrong or an injustice and to reach in rational terms the minds of the controlling group. A demonstration is not a riot. There is a trained and disciplined core of workers in a demonstration but a wild, disorderly mob in a riot.

Riots are ugly signs of the frustrations of young, militant Negroes who are sick and tired of being held as second-class citizens. And in Chicago, they did put portable swimming pools on the streets after the riots, and they never did anything like that before. Moreover, cities which have had riots have been the cities which have received O.E.O. grants to help improve conditions. Riots—the white man's term for what has occurred—do get results.

But it has also been shown that peaceful demonstrations directed from non-violence can prevent violence. Negro leaders who visited Watts remarked that in the ten years of nonviolent activity in the South, there were fewer deaths than in the five days of the Watts revolt.

a white man steals a loaf of bread, he gets arrested; if a black man robs, he goes free.

That's not really true. Records show that poor people are more apt to be convicted for minor crimes than are middle-class or wealthy people who can afford legal aid and know their legal rights. Negroes have been executed (or shot on the street by police) for crimes where white persons are merely arrested or given long prison terms.

Today, though, some merchants are becoming afraid of the black community. I know of one store-

owner who would not arrest a black boy who stole a sweater because he was afraid everybody would be down on top of him. However, it would be interesting to know if he would arrest a white boy for stealing a sweater, or whether he would just ask the boy's father to pay for it.

Does the law do any good?

Yes, it does. The law is needed for those who are not morally prepared to be just. But justice cannot be withheld simply because a person or a group is not ready to grant justice. The choice between those who will have to adjust to a new law and those who have felt the long, heavy weight of injustice will have to be on the side of the latter.

There's a big argument about "can you legislate morality?" Well, in the past we have legislated immorality—we have had laws that denied

Fear of Negro neighbors is based on erroneous ideas



Negro children equal opportunity for education, we have had laws that said you couldn't marry someone of a different racial background; we have had housing and accommodation restrictions. Yes, I think you can legislate morality, and if you don't want to go along with that, go along with the idea that the law can place you beside somebody different whom you can get to know.

Great changes have come, and the law has progressed all the way from saying the Negro was a piece of property and not a person, to the point where the law is the major force in bringing justice to members of minority groups in this country. The church didn't do it; the labor unions didn't do it; Negro pressures for legal action in the past 15 years

did it. The NAACP has won 96 out of 98 cases.

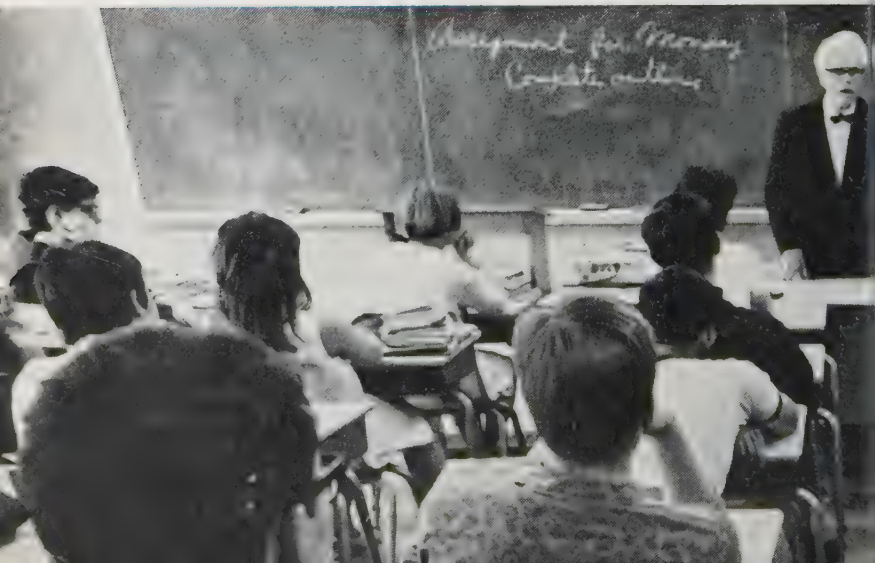
What does the Negro want?

What does anybody want? He simply wants to be treated as a human being. He wants everything we want: adequate education for himself and his children; a place to live of his own choosing; a job where he can earn enough money to have a good home. And he wants the same rights as a citizen and he wants them now.

What's next in the civil rights drive?

More refining and enforcing housing legislation. Big thrusts ahead as groups plan new strategic demonstrations and boycotts to pressure for changes in our welfare system, equality of opportunity in employment and education. More efforts will be made to stimulate minority groups into do-it-yourself work. Ghetto residents will push for

**Laws are for those
who are morally
unready to be just**



self-determination and control of businesses and services to improve their own communities. There will be more enabling programs and more power shared by whites and blacks on ghetto problems with some churches coming alive to help. There will be more tension as the problems come to your street both in housing, and in demands for integrated quality education and job opportunities. More white people will leave the problems for your generation to solve.

How long will it take?

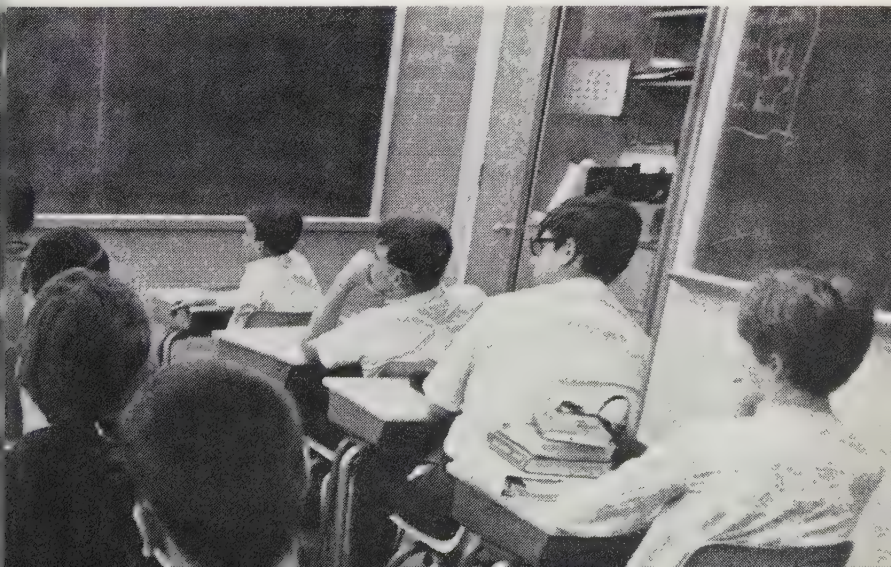
As long as it takes to get a headstart child through a good education into a good job and into decent housing; as long as it takes to get and manage the profitable spending of billions of dollars to eliminate bad ghetto practices, to get apathy out of some people and involvement of all people. A long while—and you can make it your life work.

What can I do?

Think about yourself. Whom do you fear most? Whom do you distrust? Who taught you this? Recognize your own prejudice and its causes. Then, learn about the problems we face—read, study, talk with other people. Store up knowledge so you are able to respond to your friends and to the adults around you. Then, get into action somehow. Get to know a Negro or Puerto Rican well enough to level with him. Stimulate talk and action in your church group. Establish conversations in your home. Encourage your pastor to be courageous. Write a term paper on some aspect of the problem, or read books by black authors for English class book reports. Read the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

We must hope to find a way in the forest of thought and action that is ahead. ▼

Photo by Ed Eckstein



WHAT SHALL MY CHILDREN BLACK?

What shall I tell my children who are black
Of what it means to be a captive in this dark skin?
What shall I tell my dear ones, fruit of my womb,
Of how beautiful they are, when everywhere they turn
They are faced with abhorrence of everything that is black.
The night is black and so is the boogymen.
Villians are black with black hearts.
A black cow gives no milk. A black hen lays no eggs.
Bad news comes bordered in black, mourning clothes black,
Storm clouds, black, black is evil
And evil is black and devil's food is black . . .

What shall I tell my dear ones raised in a white world
A place where white has been made to represent
All that is good and pure and fine and decent,
Where clouds are white and dolls, and heaven
Surely is a white, white place with angels
Robed in white, and cotton candy and ice cream
And milk and ruffled Sunday dresses
And dream houses and long sleek Cadillacs
And angel's food is white . . . all, all . . . white.

What can I say, therefore, when my child
Comes home in tears because a playmate
Has called him black, big-lipped, flat-nosed
And nappy-headed? What will he think
When I dry his tears and whisper, "yes, that's true.
But no less beautiful and dear."
How shall I lift up his head, get him to square
His shoulders—look his adversaries in the eye.

I TELL WHO ARE

A poem written by Margaret Burroughs, an artist and founder-director of the DuSable Museum of African-American History, Chicago, which collects, preserves, and interprets those things concerning the life, history, and culture of Americans of African descent.

As a whole human being, unwarped and human in a world
Of biased laws and inhuman practices, that he might
Survive. And survive he must! For who knows?
Perhaps this black child here bears the genius
To discover the cure for . . . cancer
Or to chart the course for exploration of the universe.
So, he must survive for the good of all humanity.
He must and will survive.
I have drunk deeply of life from the fountain
Of my black culture, sat at the knee and learned
From Mother Africa, discovered the truth of my heritage,
The truth, so often obscured and omitted.
And I find I have much to say to my black children.

I will lift up their heads in proud blackness
With the story of their fathers and their fathers'
Fathers. And I shall take them into a way-back time
Of kings and queens who ruled the Nile,
And measured the stars and discovered the
Laws of mathematics. Upon whose backs have been built
The wealth of two continents. I will tell him
This and more. And his heritage shall be his weapon
And his armor; will make him strong enough to win
Any battle he may face. And since this story is
Often obscured, I must sacrifice to find it
For my children, even as I sacrificed to feed,
Clothe and shelter them. So this I will do for them
If I love them. None will do it for me.
I must find the truth of heritage for myself
And pass it on to them. In years to come, I believe,
Because I have armed them with the truth, my children
And their children's children will venerate me.
For it is the truth that will make us free!



**"I want to
a better place"**

In an interview with Omaha's Ernie Chambers, seven Nebraska youth hear the slant of this well-known civil rights worker on school bussing, poverty programs, Vietnam, the draft, violence, and white youth protestors.

Interviewed by Donald A. Galt



World to be for my family"

Ernie Chambers was born in Omaha, Nebr., in 1937. He attended Omaha's Technical High School, Creighton University, and law school which "dropped me after two and one-half years" because of civil rights activity. He is now a barber and is well-known in Omaha, and nationally, for his work on behalf of rights and justice for Omaha's black community. In his fight for rights, he has been arrested, tried, jailed, and fired from a job with the post office. Mr. Chambers became known beyond Omaha when he expressed his views on the situation in that city in the Lutheran film, "A Time for Burning," which has been shown on national television and in churches across the country. He was also one of the persons who testified for the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Why does he do what he does? His answer is simple: "I have a wife and three young children; I want the world to be a better place for them."

On a winter night some months ago, a group of young people chatted with Mr. Chambers for over two hours. The following are excerpts from that taped discussion. ►



PEGGY: What do you think of bussing kids—Negroes across town to white schools and white kids to Negro schools?

ERNIE CHAMBERS: Well, first, there are several elements in the question of bussing students. There are school districts in Nebraska where they bus kids every day as a matter of course, so merely putting a student on a bus is not objectionable in and of itself. But when it comes to putting a black child with white kids or a white child with black kids, then there are adults who don't want this to happen, so they'll point out that a bus ride is a terrible thing.

But, whatever it takes for a child to get a quality education should be done. It's unjust and callous and very cruel for adults to operate educational systems where there's a black system and a white system and everybody knows the black one is inferior. Not only do black children feel there is a stigma to the schools they attend, this also does something to the white students. Either they are going to become very sympathetic to the black kids who are forced to attend these inferior schools, or it's going to make them very callous and say, "Yes, we are better than they; we are entitled to something better," and then the white kids are miniature bigots who grow into full-fledged adult bigots.

If you had an educational system which was equal in every respect, it would be possible to take a black child out of third grade in a ghetto school, put him in a third grade class in a white area, and the only difference he'd notice is the environment. He wouldn't see things that look like they came from a foreign country; he wouldn't hear a teacher who sounds like she came from another planet; he wouldn't be in the midst of children who treated him like he was a dread disease—which is what exists now. If it takes bussing to correct this split, there should be bussing. Whatever it takes to let kids know they are all children should be done. Until it is done, nothing worthwhile is going to come out of the educational system except the hostility of the black children.

BARBARA: I think a lot of adults are against bussing, because they don't want someone taking them where their kids have to go to school. This is taking away their freedom of choice.

MR. CHAMBERS: If you live in a school district, the system says your child has to go to school—isn't that taking away your freedom of choice? The critics aren't really concerned about freedom. If black children were allowed to come to the school you attend, then they



take you out of that school and put you in a private school where you'd have to go farther on a bus than you'd have to go to attend any public school. Racism and bigotry have caused this double-school system.

JOHNNICE: Does this cause an inferior feeling in black children?

MR. CHAMBERS: Black children used to feel inferior. Now they feel alienated. They feel like enemies in hostile territory. So, they're recognizing what they are, the conditions they're in, and they're accepting themselves. But, it's an over-acceptance in a sense, because not only is it being satisfied with what we are, but we're satisfied to the point that we're going to do something to the people who put us in this kind of situation. This makes it very difficult for even black and white kids to come together and deal with each other in a peaceful, friendly way.

SKIP: Wouldn't the Negro child feel more inferior if he was taken out into a white suburb where he'd be completely surrounded by whites?

MR. CHAMBERS: If the white kids are hostile, he'll feel like an animal would feel that's cornered. So, I would say the black child is not going to be made to feel inferior; if the white children are hostile, he might be made fearful, but this is something white adults are responsible for.

There should be many black children in white schools, and many white children transferred to the ghettos. Then in ghetto schools they'll fix the furnaces and make sure the teachers have the degree of education that they want white children to have.

DWIGHT: I notice there's been a lot of publicity about the so-called better colleges recruiting gifted Negro students, on a more-or-less token basis. What do you think of this?

MR. CHAMBERS: Some things developed from a bad motive can have a good result. These kids ought to go ahead and get the best education they can, but not forget their own, and not forget the conditions under which they were allowed to go to school as a token or a freak or a curio. It should teach them something about the society they live in, and they shouldn't forget it.

BARBARA: Are you in favor of the poverty program?

MR. CHAMBERS: Naturally, because I'm in poverty.

Dave House/Sr./Arlington High/
Arlington, Nebr.



BARBARA: But do you think this is being done in the right way?

MR. CHAMBERS: In what way are you asking do I think it's right? I think a poverty program is needed. It's in the way of retribution. They're paying us back for some of the things they've done to us—as a compensation for mistreatment. But the program is not being properly administered because the poor people are not benefiting from it.

BARBARA: That's what I meant. It seems to me that with all the money being put into it, nobody's getting that much benefit out of it.

MR. CHAMBERS: Well, they're not really putting enough money into it to make a dent on the problem. All of the money put up for the whole poverty program for the next two years could be put into a city like New York or Chicago and maybe it would make a dent, but instead it has to be spread across the whole country. And then you have a lot of thieves in administrative positions, so the money doesn't benefit the poor people.

JOHNNICE: What could be done so that the money could reach the poverty areas?

MR. CHAMBERS: As the programs are structured now, I don't see any way to get it to the poor people, because a lot of them aren't even aware of what the poverty agency is or what it's doing. And it is controlled and works closely with the agencies which have hurt them so much in the past. The poverty program, as it is, is only inciting people because it offers them a little bit, and this shows them how much they really are owed. If a man owes me \$100 and he's going to give me a dime, that's worse than his not paying me anything.

They tell me that the South in the early days was based on slave labor. The Southerners raised the cotton and the Northerners produced the finished product, so they all benefited from slave labor. Yet our ancestors got nothing for what they did, so we feel they owe us something and we're going to have to make them give it to us. Just like when a thief steals from you, he's not voluntarily going to give it back.

DWIGHT: Would you comment on Eric Hoffer's remarks that the only hope for the Negro are these Negro veterans out of Vietnam. Vietnam is going to do for the Negro what Israel has done for the Jew. They're proving themselves there, and if I was a Negro leader I would pitch a tent on the water's edge and grab those Negro veterans as they came back. They are the seed of the future."

MR. CHAMBERS: First of all, Eric Hoffer is not a Negro so he doesn't

understand what he's talking about. In Israel, Israelis were fighting for their own homeland. Vietnam is not our homeland, and we did not go there voluntarily. We were sent to Vietnam by the same white racists who are wiping us out in this country. As Malcolm X said, "Vietnam is a white man's war in which he's using the black man to kill the yellow man for the white man."

What can the black man prove in Vietnam? That he can kill. Suppose you did pitch a tent by the water's edge and get these guys coming back from Vietnam, what's he going to tell them? "O.K., the first thing we're going to do is move on the capital." Well, that's not going to work.

If we take up arms and say, "We declare war on the United States," they could use artillery, or drop a bomb and wipe us all out, because our numbers are less than theirs.

I'd like to see Eric Hoffer use his idea with reference to the poor white people, who are just as bad off in this country as we are. He is white and he can be a white leader. Why doesn't he go and get some white Vietnam veterans to do what he tells us we can do?

DAVE: Is violence the only way the black man is going to gain his rightful identity, prestige, and dignity in this nation?

MR. CHAMBERS: Take a triangle and look at the wide end and go from the wide end to the narrow end. Now the wide end represents all the alternatives and all the methods of achieving the goal at the narrow end. As you approach that narrow end, since the triangle narrows, the alternatives become fewer and fewer. Just before you reach the objective, there is only one alternative left. White people are narrowing us to that point where violence is the only alternative left, and when it becomes the only alternative, we are placed in that symbolic corner where we have to attack for self-preservation as individuals and as a race. Right now I wouldn't say that violence is the only way left, because there is still time. There are people with the power to make changes and they have time to make the changes, but if they refuse, then they are narrowing and lessening the alternatives—and violence will be the only thing, not chosen by us, but forced upon us.

DAVE: Do you think that we are going to have time as youth in America to see this change without violence?

MR. CHAMBERS: No. For example, there are young white people like ourselves who, during the early days of the so-called civil rights struggle,

Dwight Burney, Jr./Frosh/Univ. of
Nebraska/Lincoln, Nebr.



tried to join in. You were brutalized by the people and police yourself. You were beaten with clubs and had dogs set on you. Your elders showed that they don't think any more of you than they think of us when you tried to help us get our rights. They'll deny you the right to express yourself freely even while teaching you that free discussion and free expression are the ways things are solved in a democracy.

This might be one of the things that makes young white people sympathetic toward what black people are trying to do. We're trying to get freedom, we're trying to get justice and equality—you're suppose to have these things already, so to find a cause to justify your having learned this in school and all this religious training and background, you have to relate to the people who have these problems and have obstacles to overcome. But as soon as you do, instead of being like Simon who was allowed to carry the cross of Christ, you'll be nailed up on the cross with us.

BARBARA: Why won't so many of the young Negroes today even trust us, the young white of today? Shouldn't they be taught they can trust us?

MR. CHAMBERS: Who should teach it to them? Should his dad who was kicked off a job so a white man could get it, or who was denied the opportunity to get a job? Or should his mother, who works in white people's kitchens raising white people's children, and who is insulted every day, or given maybe 65 cents an hour and hand-me-down clothes? She might tell them: "Honey, don't let them put you in the position they put me in. I believed in Jesus and I tried to exercise all this stuff and I sweat my life away in these white folks' kitchen and I get nothing out of it. I can't even be home to raise you properly." Now, whose responsibility is it to show these black kids that the white kids are all right?

BARBARA: I guess, us. How do we do it?

MR. CHAMBERS: That's up to you to determine. It's not for me. Since I'm 30 years old, about twice your age. It's not for me to tell you how to have a personal relationship with somebody. You're going to have to go out and put yourself into this kind of thing and learn from your own experience what it means to be a human being.

You're going to have to meet them, and you'll be rebuffed; you're going to have some things said and done to you that you feel are highly insulting but understand the kind of people you're dealing with. If this black child is 15, he or she might really be 30, based on the kind of experiences he or she has had and the things he's had related to him by his parents, the things he's watched being done to his people on television, read about in the paper.

and heard on the radio. So, understand all of these things—and when you go into the situation, realize you're not going there as a missionary or a savior. All you are is somebody that represents the group that has hurt the most, and you have to show us that you're worthy of our acceptance.

BARBARA: It just seems like it's not going to get us anywhere very fast.

MR. CHAMBERS: Yes it is, because it's going to make you understand partially what these black kids already understand. See, suppose you're a baby rabbit. Foxes chase rabbits and eat them. Well, maybe a baby rabbit and a baby fox will play together until the rabbit's mother teaches him this important lesson—it was one of those foxes who deprived you of your father. Now, the fox feels mistreated and says, "I'm playing with him. I'm not like the rest of the foxes." But as he grows older and lives around foxes, certain instincts are naturally going to assert themselves. And he's going to be pressured by the older foxes: He's going to see them eating rabbits; none of them are playing with rabbits; rabbits always run from them. And, since he can't live with the foxes and run with the rabbits, he has to live with the foxes and eat the rabbits. So, this little rabbit is in a better position if he is taught to beware of all foxes; all foxes. Foxes are dangerous. That's how the fox got the rabbit's daddy, because he tricked him.

JOHNNICE: I've noticed that I'm unaccepted by Negro kids if I associate with white kids. How am I to fight this? I'm caught in the middle.

MR. CHAMBERS: We have to realize what a hellish situation has been created for young people by adults. The young white people who mean right are going to have to understand you and your position. You don't have to understand them; we've been understanding them for too many years already. A black person who's too much with white people becomes white in outlook and attitude, and is too defensive of white people with other black people. It's all right to be friendly with white people; but let them come more than halfway. Make them come where you are, and if they mean right, they will, because they are beginning to understand our situation and know that we can't risk ourselves just to be friends with them. We have bigger things to risk ourselves for than that.



Barbara Baldwin/Frosh/Univ. of
Nebraska/Lincoln, Nebr.

PEGGY: In some cities the Negroes destroyed their own places of business and homes, and they're now living off the government. If you want to wreck something, why didn't you wreck a white person's home? ►

MR. CHAMBERS: The establishments that were destroyed in ghetto areas of this country were the white establishments. Black establishments were destroyed by the National Guard and police, and these things were verified and documented. And here's what they ought to look at: If only a small percentage of black people were involved in the disturbances, then why are they indiscriminately mistreating all black people? Officials say that the "troublemakers" hit and then get out. Well, if the troublemakers hit and are gone, the only ones the National Guard will be killing are the ones that they themselves by definition say are innocent of any wrong doing. What black people have to recognize is that every black man eventually is going to have to be against every white man. It's the thing that white people are doing to us that are creating this feeling in us.

But, let's assume that some of the property destroyed was owned by black people. That black man could have been a Tom, guys who set themselves up as targets because they hurt us more than the white man. They're like traitors.

SKIP: Do you think that Negro youth of today will actually affect the change and do the violent work?

MR. CHAMBERS: Every black person will be drawn in for self-preservation and self-defense. It won't just be black people in America fighting white people in America.

Russia and China are watching how this country is pouring money and material into Vietnam without accomplishing anything. America is being weakened by the war in Vietnam while Russia and China are becoming stronger. America, rather than trying to be strong and marshalling her resources and using the military power she has to the greatest advantage, is setting one segment of the population against the other.

SKIP: Why are you against the Vietnam war?

MR. CHAMBERS: It's killing too many of our young black men. To ship them over to Vietnam to fight—for what? Not freedom, because we weren't free in this country. Not for the right of his elders to vote, because many still can't vote in this country. Not for the right to hold a job, because he couldn't get a job while he was there. Let the young children and the rich white people fight the war; they're the ones who are going to get all the benefits from it; but they're the ones who are not going to fight.

BARBARA: Why aren't they going to fight?

MR. CHAMBERS: Because they don't have to. See, this is supposed



Chris Carithers/Sr./Central High/
Omaha, Nebr.

to be capitalist society. The only one who is a capitalist is the one who has capital, and capitalists take care of the baby capitalists. So, if you are a baby capitalist, then you will be protected and you won't have to fight in a war to make the world safe for capitalism.

PEGGY: How would you reform the draft?

MR. CHAMBERS: I couldn't even begin to go into that. But the first thing I'd say would be: "No black people would be drafted. No poor white people would be drafted." The only ones who would be allowed to go into the Army are these people who are demonstrating in favor of joining the army and going over there. Why are they back here throwing eggs, bottles, and bricks at you because you have the courage of your convictions to say the war shouldn't go on?

In times to come, those of you who will stand now are the ones who will, if it means anything to you, be given consideration for trying to maintain the principles which this country supposedly stands for. A country, to maintain its integrity as a nation, has to stick by those principles that made it strong—not forgetting morality. If democracy, freedom of speech, the right to dissent are what made this country strong, then these are the things that are going to have to be permitted and encouraged to keep it that way. If the best antidote to falsehood is truth, then they should encourage every kind of opinion to be freely discussed; then the error can be met properly.

Basically, many young people are trying to act out the very democracy they've been taught in school, but when they act it out, they get their brains beat out. They're suspected of being subversive.

JOHNNICE: In other words, you're saying that the white people, instead of sending Negroes to Vietnam, should say, "I'll go to protect what I love and you stay over here and fight for what you ought to have."

MR. CHAMBERS: Right. And that way we'd all be fighting for what we feel is of the greatest interest to us and the greatest benefit to us. I'm sure they could raise a volunteer army of black men to go to Mississippi and fight for the rights of black men.

DAVE: Ernie, you once said that you didn't agree that what happened that summer in Detroit, Newark, and elsewhere were race riots.

MR. CHAMBERS: Well, here is the point I was trying to get across: there were considerations other than race involved. And, though anything

black people did was a striking against white people in general, they were not directly attacking white people. Since there was no actual coming together of black and white, it wasn't really a riot at all. We weren't doing any sniping—not a National Guardsman was killed; not a policeman was killed. Do any of you believe that with masses of National Guardsmen and masses of policemen just out there, disorganized, running around, that if we were shooting at them we wouldn't hit one?

CHRIS: What about the newsmen who cover the scene?

MR. CHAMBERS: I think they want to put something on television to make people watch their station. They won't take time before the hostilities commence to establish lines of communication with people in the black ghettos and maybe serve as a conduit so that opinions in the ghetto can get back to the white community and these things can be averted. Instead they'll talk to a black man and anything they can pick out of what he says that sounds inflammatory or provocative, they'll put this on television and terrorize white people. Then the white people have a misconception about the black man, and the black man sees white people becoming more oppressive, and he prepares himself to fight the white man. Then, any incident, like a policeman mistreating somebody, sets off what they call a riot.

The thing I'm trying to say is that what goes on when the next disturbance occurs should be put in context—the context of what has happened in the year leading up to it. But newsmen aren't interested in doing that.

BARBARA: Is all this conflict going to accomplish anything in the end? You say the purpose and end result is that each one of us individually realizes the needs of the Negro and his equality. But, you're not going to be able ever to reach everybody.

MR. CHAMBERS: Right, and we recognize that, and that's what I'm trying to make you understand. No matter how hard you try, you're not going to reach all of us, and a lot of us are going to reject you just because you're white: Nothing white can be any good. What you have to realize is that conflict can be either constructive or destructive. It can generate a type of energy which can be used to produce something worthwhile, or which can be used to level everything.

BARBARA: Aren't you going to have to have the majority of people on your side before any results will take place?

MR. CHAMBERS: You never try to get



Barbara Brown, Sr. Central
High School, N.Y.C.

majority on your side. You try to get enough people together who want to do something, and then the majority can be moved. When the American Revolution came, at most one third of the people were for it; one third were indifferent; and the other third were on the side of the British.

All revolutions were started by a minority of people; because if you have a majority for something, you don't need a revolution, you have an election.

DAVE: Here in Omaha the mayor has suggested or promoted the idea where they have a person assigned every few blocks on the north side to phone in any disturbances. What do you think of this?

MR. CHAMBERS: Well, I'm for law enforcement, and I'm not for the police being our enemies. What the mayor has in mind is a bunch of snitchers, stool pigeons, and informers. Now any black man who gets the reputation of being an informer is in a difficult situation out here.

I'm against strong-armed robbery; I'm against rape, murder, or any violation of the integrity of a person's body or his property, but I'm not in favor of white cops coming out here and mistreating us.

A case like this is pending right now: A white man saw a black man and decided to give him some trouble. He hollered at him and called him some names, and the man's wife was in the car, so he yelled back telling the guy, "Respect my wife, man." And the white man kept on shouting and the black man didn't know that the white guy was a cop because the white man was dirty and driving a delivery truck. The black man got out to defend his wife. Another black man intervened and told this Negro, "Go away, man, don't get in trouble." So he left, and the guy who was the peacemaker went on into a grocer's. He wound up being pursued by the white man who grabbed him, dragged him out of the building into an alley, and was getting ready to assault him when the director of the Urban League, who is on the mayor's crime commission, came up and identified himself. The white guy was really abusive and the Urban League guy was naturally taken back. By this time someone had called the police and a cop showed up. That's when this white guy identified himself as a cop, too, and so they charged the black guy he'd dragged into the alley, who was the peacemaker, with disturbing the peace, and put a \$50 fine on him; and the guy who drove away had a warrant issued for his arrest for improper parking and disturbing the peace.

That's justice in operation for us, and it should tell you why, when we say we're against the way the system operates. We're not against justice and we're not against proper law enforcement. We're against abuses of authority and exceeding of the law by policemen.

Eventually you're going to begin to see the problem we have. Until these things happen to you, you can't appreciate how much injustice and viciousness exists in the society and how much is unleashed by the police.

CHRIS: I heard on one television program about Negroes working alongside whites in the trenches of South Vietnam. It stated one case of a boy from Arkansas explaining how he's seeing that the Negro was "human after all." I just wondered if this could be changing a few people's mind.

MR. CHAMBERS: It might give some young people like you more ammunition to use. But, for those whose minds are not open, this isn't going to mean anything. Let's say I'm in a hole and somebody is going to kill me and a monkey swings down and saves my life—Well, that monkey is the most beautiful thing I ever saw in my life. But, once I'm out of that situation, he's back to being a monkey again. When that black boy goes back to Arkansas, things are not going to be any better for him than they were before, and they might be worse because these white people are going to say he's been over there fighting, to where he thinks he's more than what he is. And he might get kicked around more as a result of being in Vietnam and coming back a hero than if he had never gone.

JOHNNICE: Maybe I'm young and haven't experienced any real brutality, but it's impossible for me to believe that people can really be that way about other people. If somebody saves my life, I just can't see myself turning around and spitting in their face.

MR. CHAMBERS: General Edwin Walker, I'm sure, had many of his missions salvaged by black people during the war, but he led his "troops" against James Meredith going to Mississippi University. Meredith had also been a military man all his life.

JOHNNICE: Do you think all people are going to be like that?

MR. CHAMBERS: I think that such a large number of them are, that the few who aren't won't make any difference. You cannot use war to humanize an individual.

There was a time when Moses, or one of those guys was talking, and I said, "Now everybody is going wrong. Who is on the Lord's side? Let him separate himself and come over here." So, there comes a time when

you're going to have to say, "Who is on the side of what is right if right means anything?" Now, sometimes it sounds corny, because these terms are so intermingled and mixed with things that you know are phony, but there is such a thing as right.

Somebody said that if you hold to what is right, you are not mad even though the whole world is on the other side and tells you that you are

You're going to have to find out what you think is right, and you're just going to have to stand for it, even if it means standing by yourself.

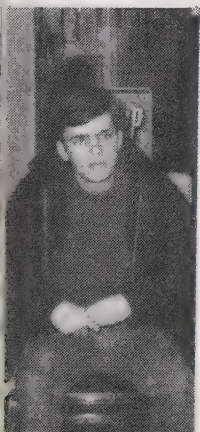
CHRIS: What would be your advice to white kids in the rural areas?

MR. CHAMBERS: Inform yourself; then try to inform others. When you encounter a stereotyped notion, let people know that they're talking about other human beings. Rural people talk about religion, so you can say "You know, we're all God's children, and we're not pleasing to God when we're against one of His, because He said, 'How can you love me whom you have not seen and hate your brother whom you have seen?'" But, some people don't acknowledge the premise that all people are God's children, and consequently brothers. Some still believe in what you might call a biological inferiority of the black man, and since he's biologically inferior he's not really man, so you're not violating any law of God by keeping him down. But you guys are more intelligent than that; so you're going to have to be a force for good.

Jesus apparently spent his life out of the public view. If he read and studied, people might have wondered, "Why is he doing all this, because he doesn't argue with anyone; he doesn't preach; he doesn't teach." But then when the time came for him to hit the scene, he exploded on the scene, and the only ones who could do justice to his arrival would be Bar- num & Bailey or Cecil B. DeMille. When he hit the scene he had some things which did not come to him suddenly when he was 30 years old. He spent 30 years building up to a two-and-one-half-year ministry.

So, you might be living on the side of a mountain, so to speak, or on the edge of a meadow, but there are things you can learn there which will help you operate later. You can develop traits and knowledge and understanding and insights which will be of value when you come into the more densely populated areas where the real problems are. You might have a clearness of vision which people who have been in it all of their lives don't have. You may have an objectivity which other people don't have and you may have a freshness of approach which might just work because it is so fresh and different.

The best thing you can do is set an example. So, try to develop yourself as a person who can make it anywhere. You won't be intimidated by anybody just because they live in a city; because you know a man is a man. So you might be preparing yourself for something better. And if you never leave a rural area, you can be a total person there. ▼



"Skip" Erickson/Sr./
Wahoo High/Wahoo, Nebr.

"The history my school did not teach me." We learn from history. In fact, part of our own sense of identity as a human being is shaped by what we know about who our ancestors were and how they acted. That's why it's important that the history we are taught is honest and complete and understood. Too often in the past, history has been written to justify unjust actions by a nation, or a dictator, or a single group of people.

Certainly, the racism rampant in the U. S. today has been nurtured by textbooks that make the Negro an invisible man—a nothing! As a consequence, Negro children grow up without a sense of identity and white children grow up with a false sense of superiority. But the Negroes do have a history, a heritage, and a culture about which both black and white students—and adults—ought to know.

Fortunately, there are school boards, educators, and textbook publishers who are beginning to publish Negro history and literature and to rewrite American history to broaden and deepen the perspective. Although the resources are already numerous, in many communities—especially where there are no Negroes—such changes in textbooks and classroom curriculum are years away.

Therefore, to awaken your interest and to provide you with a brief introduction to black history and heritage, YOUTH magazine has prepared this insert, "The Truth of History." We admit its limitations—too brief, too reportorial, and not interpretative enough of the deeper reasons why events are as they are.

If you wish to dig deeper, write to YOUTH magazine and we will send you free of charge an annotated bibliography of printed and visual resources. If you wish extra copies of this insert, they are available at 15 cents per copy. For bulk orders of 100 copies or more, the cost is 10 cents each. Write: YOUTH magazine, Room 806, 1505 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

the truth of history



LONELY STRUGGLES IN AMERICA

FORGOTTEN CIVILIZATIONS IN AFRICA

WHEN MALCOLM X ARRIVED in Boston as a young boy, the future leader of the Black Muslims was astonished to discover the statue of a black man—Crispus Attucks—in the middle of Boston Common. No one had ever told Malcolm that any black man at any time had contributed in any way to the history of the world or to the history of this nation.

The historical black-out from which we all suffer is a product of the white, Western world, and especially a product of the American national experience. The idea of the "success" of our democratic experiment is both the marrow and mirror of our self-image. We have thought of ourselves as "one nation under God," superior to other nations, moving in a straight line from good to better, the land of the truly free and the home of the truly brave. Today it is evident that these truths are not self-evident, and never have been.

Americans have been miseducated. History books have neglected accuracy for the sake of general impressions of national harmony and good will. Two recurrent themes in our history—violence and racism—have been ignored. In addition, the profit-making basis of our capitalistic economy is extolled for developing a self-reliant and resourceful people. The fact that this profit system suppresses a large segment of our minority population is seldom viewed with the seriousness this tragic fact demands.

A CLOSER LOOK AT HISTORY



Carefully chosen omissions have distorted the truth. Chapters in American history texts on the slave trade usually neglect to mention the African civilization from which those black people were uprooted. Discussion of the Reconstruction period leaves the impression that African men were unable to participate responsibly in the democratic process. The significant contribution of Negro American soldiers in our many wars receives only peripheral attention. Twentieth century accounts omit reference to the Civil Rights Movement and the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

The following presentation reflects the extent of this black-out and the new work which must be done to revise our history. Two major shortcomings need to be mentioned. First, facts have been painstakingly culled because of limitations of space so that this primer to Afro-American history serves as mere introduction to further study. And second, in our effort to fill in such very wide gaps, the story, if it is to be read intelligently, must be placed in relationship to a general knowledge of history.

The work of five distinguished historians has provided the resource for this closer look. Basil Davidson is an English scholar who has spent a lifetime investigating the history of Africa and has written many books, including *Lost Cities of Africa* and *Black Mother*. John Hope Franklin is head of the American history department at the University of Chicago and author of the classic study *From Slavery to Freedom*. C. Eric Lincoln, Professor of Religion and Society at Union Theological Seminary, is author of *The Black Muslims in America* and *The Negro Pilgrimage in America*. Lerone Bennett, Jr., writer and critic, is senior editor of *Ebony* magazine and author of *Before the Mayflower*. Langston Hughes, poet and historian, is co-author with Milton Meltzer of the well-known *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America*.

A closer look at our forgotten history is only a first step during these critical mid-20th century years of our national life. The great experiment is faltering. Historical background of this tragedy must serve as a prelude to action. For only by enabling certain changes in our economic and political structures can a new history participate in the birth of a new society.

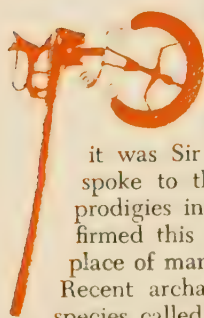
JOAN HEMENWAY / The author of this history is a free-lance writer and recent graduate with a BD degree from Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Miss Hemenway was formerly Associate Editor of YOUTH magazine.

Over thousands of years man developed his abilities: first to extend his body by using a tool, then to control his environment by using fire, later by turning from hunter to farmer and forming settled communities where he expressed his creative genius in magnificent works of art.

Head from Oba's Altar (Museum of Primitive Art) and a ceremonial ax (The University Museum)



AFRICA: THE CRADLE OF HUMANITY



In the seventh century B. C., Homer described Africa as a place fit for the vacation of the gods. Later, a common saying among the Romans was "out of Africa, always something new." Still later, Shakespeare wrote, "I speak of Africa and golden joys." But it was Sir Thomas Browne, a 17th century English writer, who spoke to the heart of the matter: "There is all Africa and her prodigies in us." The 19th century scientist, Charles Darwin, confirmed this truth by suggesting that Africa was perhaps the birthplace of man, the cradle of humanity.

Recent archaeological evidence indicates that the ancestors of the species called *homo sapiens* may have come from the vicinity of the large African lake, Victoria. Here fossil bones and primitive tools have been found dating back to the Old Stone Age. Remnants of an ancient man, called "Zinjanthropus," have been discovered, estimated to be 600,000 years old, but of a type dating back possibly two million years.*

During the Pleistocene Period, about one million years ago, Europe was covered by a huge ice cap while Africa enjoyed pleasant weather. What is now tropical forest, impossible to penetrate, was then habitable land easily penetrable and covered with useful plants. What is now huge desert was then evenly-watered plains, capable of supporting many different people.

The origins of these earliest peoples is obscure. There were several types—bushman, negrito, hottentot, negro and hamite—but many have

* Clues to the origin of man have been discovered in many parts of the world. The evidence from Africa, though far from conclusive, takes a prominent place in this complicated and controversial field of research.

mingled together. Today, the largest of these "mixed" groups is the Bantu, a name signifying a linguistic rather than a racial grouping.

A turning point in preliterate history occurred when this ice cap began to move off the European and North American continents. Eventually a large portion of Northern Africa became dry desert, notably the Sahara (which is equal in size to the United States) and the Kalihari. Exquisite rock drawings showing horses and chariots have been found in these areas and may date back 2000 years before Christ. Even though some men may have found ways to cross this expanse (especially with the introduction of the camel in the first century B. C.), the formation of such a substantial barrier was significant, for it meant that in the development of its culture, Africa would remain relatively isolated from the influence of Greece, Rome and the other Mediterranean and European civilizations; and these civilizations, in turn, would remain ignorant of Africa's accomplishments. Where there was contact, it was muffled by time and space.

The Stone Age of history began in about 3000 B. C. At this time the first dynasty of Egyptian pharaohs came to rule over land in the lower Nile, establishing the most ancient settled culture in the world. The influence of this African kingdom spread southward up the Nile and helped create the ancient civilization of Kush. Its renowned kingdoms of Napate and Meroe would exist for over 1000 years. Egyptian influence also spread westward along the Mediterranean Sea founding Phoenician Carthage in the ninth century B. C.—a civilization which was to challenge Roman power during the Punic Wars (264-146 B. C.). Finally, Egyptian accomplishments spread to the southernmost tip of Arabia, from which early traders would cross over the Red Sea and enter the coastal lands of Eastern Africa.

Two thousand years ago men in Africa discovered how to make tools and weapons out of the copper, tin, gold and iron which were so plentiful on their continent. The old city of Meroe, located near modern Khartoum in Sudan, where the white and the blue Niles converge, probably served as the center for the dissemination throughout the African continent of this information about the hammering and smelting of metals. The southward-moving Bantus may have been the middlemen who communicated this important piece of news.

Thus, the Age of Metals came to the continent of Africa, an age which witnessed the rise of busy civilizations. One historian has described the age as a landscape "thick with cities or strong stone settlements and loud with the din of ports and ocean-going shipping, that glitters with old armies and the pomp of states and empires and is restless with the rise and fall of dynasties and powers."* While the "western world" was witnessing the rise of the Roman Empire and then recovering for 1000 years from its collapse, various African peoples were reaching new heights of achievement in art, architecture, religion, political systems and self-identity.

* Basil Davidson, "The Rediscovery of Africa" in *The UNESCO Courier*, October 1959.

POWERFUL AND PROSPEROUS PEOPLES

The history of the Age of Metals is remembered and recited in Africa today. Though this history can be found in art, coins, pottery, commercial correspondence and traveller's diaries, for the most part it has gone unnoticed by scholars. Only in this century has serious archaeological and historical research begun, so that what we know is only a fragmentary portion of the whole story. Five brief sketches indicate the scope and variety of this African history between 300 and 1600 A. D.

The Land of the Gods. In East Africa, on a plateau high above sea level lies the nation of Ethiopia which, 1600 years ago, was converted to Christianity by Emperor Aizanas. The old capital of Axum still displays giant monuments, including a 70-foot obelisk at the Tomb of the Kings. Long thought to be connected with Egypt, it is now certain that Ethiopia was a trading center which developed its own closely-knit culture. In the seventh century, Ethiopia's power declined, but her cultural developments continued. After the 12th century there was a series of religious struggles, often violent, with Muslim believers in Islam. Ethiopia's real contact with Europe did not come until the opening of the Suez Canal, less than a hundred years ago. This contact was made easier because throughout her history this nation had highly developed writing and legislative methods, as well as aesthetic and legal codes. The founder of Ethiopia's ancient dynasty of kings was Menelik I, the legendary son of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. The present monarch, His Majesty Haile Selassie, is 225th in this line of succession.

The Land of Gold. The nation of Ghana, in West Africa, was the cradle of the Negro-Islamic culture which also flourished to the east in the Sudan. Ruins of Koumbi Saleh, its ancient center dating back to the eighth century, were discovered in 1914. These include outlines of a central square, extensive burial grounds, two-storied houses and a mosque.

The use of iron for agricultural tools and weapons, plus trade in gold made parts of this empire especially strong. However, in the 11th century Moslem armies from Morocco subdued Ghana and out of the disruption of conquest the kingdom of Mali arose. Its capital at Timbukto was well known for its commerce and large university. A 14th century ruler, Mansa Musa, made Mali one of the world's most extensive empires—equal in size to Western Europe. Mansa Musa is especially remembered for his pilgrimage to Mecca. Concerned about sufficient cash for the trip, he





The African continent could contain within its borders the combined areas of China, India, Western Europe and the United States.



loaded 100 camels with gold dust, each load weighing 300 pounds. Stopping at Cairo, Egypt, on the way, he nearly ruined the economy of the entire Mediterranean by his extravagant spending. His pilgrimage, while ending in economic bankruptcy, greatly strengthened the Islam faith in Mali.

In 1475 the kingdom of Songhai surpassed Mali's power in North Africa. This nation had settled along the deep bend of the Niger River with its capital at Gao. Songhai invaded Mali, capturing Timbukto and Jenne. The empire of Songhai took over trade in the area and ruled until the early 17th century when an invasion by the Moors caused political organization in Northwest Africa to crumble.

Zimbabwe. One hundred years ago a wandering hunter returned from the unexplored interior of Southern Rhodesia with a strange tale about gigantic stone ruins rising mysteriously out of the bush country. Legend quickly grew that this mammoth "acropolis" was a model of King Solomon's palace and was built by the Queen of Sheba. Though this legend was a little fantastic, the idea persisted that such mighty stone works could not have been built by Africans.





These ruins, now called Zimbabwe ("stone houses"), were probably the center of an extensive Bantu civilization which flourished as early as 750 A. D. Artifacts have been scarce at Zimbabwe—a few carvings in soap stone, some gold bangles, and simple objects used in fertility rites. It is difficult to tell exactly how much has been lost because of enterprises like the Ancient Ruins Company Limited (circa 1900 A. D.) through which two hopeful businessmen from Johannesburg managed to loot 500 oz. of worked gold from sites all over southern Africa.

East Coast Cities. When Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, and sailed up the east coast he was greeted by a number of prosperous and populous cities. These centers, in existence since pre-Christian times, traded gold, ivory and slaves across the Indian Ocean to countries as far away as China and Siam. One memento of this commerce is a Chinese painting of a giraffe, dated 1400, with an inscription explaining that the giraffe was a gift from an African ruler to a Chinese emperor.

These coastal cities represented the Swahili culture. Their economic system was based on barter, using a currency of beads and cloth. Today this coast is littered with fragments, mainly coins (which date as far back as early Greece and Rome), and Chinese porcelain. One of these cities, located on an island just off modern Tanzania, stretched for a mile and a half along the coast. Today hauntingly beautiful ruins of a palace overlook the Indian Ocean from these cliffs at Kilwa.

Nigeria. Medieval Nigeria, with its early capital at Benin, is famous for its many works of art in bronze, ivory, wood, iron and pottery, and for the "lost wax" method of casting metal. The rulers of this empire united in one person all political, spiritual and military power. The economy was agricultural, based on slave labor. The need for slaves, plus desire for more land, kept this empire at war throughout most of its history.

In the 16th century, the lure of firearms brought the hard-pressed rulers at Benin to send ambassadors to Portugal, but since the Papacy forbade the exportation of arms to "infidels," the king had to accept Christian missionaries into his land. In the 17th century, Portugal, England and Holland bought thousands of Africans from this coastal land for use as slaves on American plantations. In 1897, the independence of this accomplished people was lost to British colonial aspirations.



SLAVE LABOR HELPS BUILD A NEW NATION

"Raphael painted, Luther preached, Corneille wrote, and Milton sang; and through it all, for four hundred years, the dark captives wound to the sea amid the bleaching bones of the dead; for four hundred years the sharks followed the scurrying ships; for four hundred years America was strewn with the living and dying millions of a transplanted race; for four hundred years Ethiopia stretched forth her hands to god." —W. E. B. DuBois

In 1441 a ship sent out by Henry the Navigator of Portugal landed on the west coast of Africa. The youthful captain wished to please the prince so he captured a few of the natives to take home. Within ten years Portugal was importing approximately 1000 Africans per year. Thus began a European-African commercial venture which, together with the Moslem-African trade alliance, would take more than 40 million people from their homeland.

The descendents of those first Africans to reach Portuguese soil were known as "Black Christians," since most had been converted to Christianity. Many who were slaves worked for their freedom. Some accompanied the first explorers on their long voyages into strange waters: 30 black men were with Balboa's expedition; Cortez led a company of Negro explorers into Mexico; and one of Columbus' pilots, Pedro Niño, was a black man.

More than a century later, in August, 1619, an unnamed Dutch "man of war" drifted into the tiny harbor at Jamestown, Virginia. Its cargo contained an assortment of Africans who had been taken in a robbery on the high seas from a Spanish vessel bound for the West Indies. Captain Jope

and his men were hungry. They exchanged their cargo for some "victualles." Twenty black persons stepped on the shores of North America. They were not the first black men to come; nor were they legally "slaves." But they marked the beginning of a tragic history.

For 40 years the situation concerning slavery remained fluid in the American colonies. Some people from that first ship accumulated land and mingled with the European settlers. Both black and white indentured servants formed a significant part of the population. Not all became slaves. But changes came quickly. At first tobacco and corn made the difference; later cotton. Large plantations needed cheap labor; Africans were strong, inexpensive, visible, and unprotected. Discrimination was followed by prejudice. In the 1660's laws began to be passed stating that black men had no legal rights.

It was different in parts of Latin America. There was no clear color line. The many slaves who were brought to these lands could work for their freedom. In Brazil, the state appointed an officer to guard the rights of the slaves. And the Catholic Church played a key role: it encouraged education, manumission, and, protected legal rights such as marriage.

Back on the African coast special booths and prisons had been constructed for the containment of slaves until the traders arrived. Then the people were loaded on ships, stacked like books, sometimes in holds barely 18 inches high. Dysentery and smallpox were prevalent. Each person was chained to the next and to the deck. For every three slaves who arrived alive, seven had died. But —

"The slave trade was not just a statistic, however astronomical. The slave trade was people living, lying, stealing, murdering, and dying. The slave trade was a black man who stepped out of his hut for a breath of fresh air and ended up, ten months later, in Georgia with bruises on his back and a brand on his chest. The slave trade was a black mother suffocating her newborn baby because she didn't want him to grow up a slave." (*Before the Mayflower*, pp. 30-31.)

In 1672, the King of England chartered the Royal African Company which effectively turned the flow of black gold to the New World into a torrent. Slave trading became the world's biggest business. In 1710, there were 50,000 Negroes in the colonies; by 1776, there were 500,000. One hundred years later there would be more than four million.

Thomas Jefferson owned slaves. Yet in 1776, as chairman of the committee appointed to write the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's first draft contained a paragraph angrily condemning human bondage and denouncing King George III for his propagation of this "cruel war against human nature." But the slave system was too profitable an enterprise to make this paragraph acceptable to the delegates; so it was deleted.

In 1787, the Constitutional Convention made three decisions about slavery: first, for apportionment and tax purposes, slaves were to be counted as three-fifths of their total number; second, external slave trade

was extended for 20 years; and finally, runaway slaves were to be returned to their masters. While this last provision was greatly strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, a few states gradually abolished the institution beginning with Massachusetts in 1783. Though the Constitution did prohibit external slave trade in 1807, enforcement of that law was so lax that over a quarter of a million new Africans were smuggled into the nation at soaring prices.

But black men did not all come as slaves; nor did they remain anonymous. A trickle of free immigrants came from the West Indies. Some Africans paid to get on boats to the new continent. Some became free after they arrived, particularly in the northern states. And many helped to build the new nation, as farmers, poets, inventors, traders and fighters.

At first, only "free" Negroes could participate in the Revolutionary War. Later, when many slaves ran away to join the British forces the colonial army was pressured into allowing slaves to fight for them. Some, like Peter Salem, obtained the permission of their masters to fight. Peter became a Minuteman and fought at Lexington and Concord. Later, at Bunker Hill, he shot the English general leading the attack. Crispus Attucks is the most celebrated martyr for the cause of national freedom—he was the first man killed at the Boston Massacre (1770).

Another well-known person was Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable, a native of Haiti who became a trader in the northwest and a friend to the Indians. It was he who founded the strategic trading post of "Chickagou" on Lake Michigan. And Paul Cuffee, a "free" boat builder from New England, sailed to Sierra Leone where he started a colony for American slaves to return to Africa. Benjamin Banneker, among the most accomplished men of the age, was born free on a Maryland farm and educated in a Quaker School. His genius was demonstrated at an early age when he built a wooden clock using a pocket watch as his model. Later Banneker was called by President Washington to be a member of the survey team for the new capital city. In 1793, he published *Banneker's Almanac* which was an immediate success.

One year before, in 1792, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, and the South's reliance on a slave-labor economy deepened. Within 50 years the Gulf States would be producing three-fourths of the world's cotton supply. Gradually the South began to uphold slavery as a positive good for the slaves. Ministers defended the institution on the basis that Africans were heathen children in need of protection. And less than 100 years after it was declared with such promise that all men are created equal, one paper editorialized: "We assert that in all countries and at all times there must be a class of hewers of wood and drawers of water who must always of necessity be the substratum of society. We affirm that it is best for all that this class should be formed of a race upon whom God himself has placed a mark of physical and mental inferiority." (1858, *Southern Literary Messenger*)

"Give a slave a bad master and he aspires to a good master; give him a good master and he wishes to become his own master."

—Frederick Douglass

SLAVES FIGHT BACK

- 1522-31**—Revolts among Negro slaves in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Santa Marta, and Panama.
- 1600's**—Uprisings on slave ships, including one on the S.S. *Kentucky* in which 40 slaves were put to death. Such revolts were considered an occupational hazard by traders.
- 1658**—Negroes and Indians burn a number of homes in Connecticut.
- 1663**—Rebellion was planned by a group of white and black slaves in Gloucester County, Virginia. The plan was discovered and the leaders were impaled in the public square.
- 1690**—Negroes and Indians burn some masters' homes in Massachusetts.
- 1712**—Rebel slaves kill nine whites in street fighting in New York City.
- 1741**—In New York City, it was rumored that white and black slaves planned a rebellion. Though no disturbance occurred, 18 blacks were hung, 13 burned and 70 sold to the South. Four whites, including two women, were hanged.
- 1800**—Gabriel Prosser, a slave in Virginia, felt he was divinely called to deliver his people. It was estimated at one point that he had 40,000 followers. He planned to attack Richmond on August 30, 1800, but a combination of bad weather and betrayal resulted in the failure of this attack. Prosser was publicly hanged.
- 1812**—Many Negroes and Indians fight with the British against the United States in the War of 1812.
- 1816**—The first Seminole War began in Florida. In part, this war was a slave-catching expedition financed by the United States government. From 1835 to 1843, a second Seminole War was fought during which 500 Negro exiles were seized and enslaved by the government.
- 1822**—In Charleston, S. C., Denmark Vesey, a carpenter who had managed to buy his freedom, planned an extensive revolt. He was betrayed by a house slave and put to death along with 36 others. By his thorough knowledge of the French and Haitian revolutions he helped his followers to recognize their common power and their equality with all men.
- 1831**—Nat Turner, a plowman and preacher, led the biggest revolt of the century. Marching on Jerusalem, Va., Nat and his men killed 60 white persons before the revolt was put down by 3000 troops. One hundred Negroes were indiscriminately killed in retaliation. Nat was publicly hanged as white fear spread over the land.

1839—There was a mutiny on board the *Amistad*, a Spanish slave ship, in which the Africans killed the crew. The boat was captured off the coast of Long Island. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the mutineers were free men: they had been kidnapped and therefore had the right to use force to secure their freedom.

1841—There was a mutiny on board the *Creole*, an American slave ship. The crew of 130 men sailed the vessel to Nassau where, under British law, they were free men.

1859—John Brown, a white man, tried to capture a U. S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry. His plan was to get enough arms to fight the Virginia slaveholders and free the slaves. Fourteen whites and five Negroes were directly involved in the attempt. The plan failed. From prison Brown wrote: "You may dispose of me easily, but this question is still to be settled—the Negro question—the end of that is not yet."

Two Personal Portraits of Revolt

Isabella Baumfree, alias *Sojourner Truth*, was born in 1797, the property of a Dutch master in New York City. Sold at an early age, she survived a succession of masters, until 1827, when New York State's gradual abolition of slavery was accomplished. Isabella ran away, prepared to fight for her rights. By court order she succeeded in winning back from Alabama her

Africans mutiny on board the slave ship, *Amistad*.



son Peter who had been sold; later, when she was accused of murder by a white man, she won \$125 by suing for libel.

In 1843, Isabella suddenly left her job as a domestic, feeling she had received a call to preach and teach against slavery. With a bag of clothes, 25 cents in her pocket and a new name, she began her career—"to be a Sojourner up and down the land and declare Truth unto people." Described as a "big-souled, God-intoxicated woman," Sojourner's deep voice, six-foot height, quiet dignity and vivid manner of speaking made her a memorable leader in the anti-slavery movement.

Harriet Tubman was born into slavery in 1820. When she was 20, Harriet ran away from her master by way of the underground railroad. From the free states of the North, she returned 19 different times to the South, helping more than 300 slaves—including her own parents—escape by the routes of the railroad. And when the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law was passed making it highly profitable for men to capture and return escaped slaves, she extended the railroad into Canada.

By the end of her career, Harriet was worth an accumulated total of \$40,000 to anyone who could catch her. Her fame was whispered all over the South. She was called the Moses of her people, returning again and again to Egypt seeking their deliverance. In all her life Miss Tubman made only one boast: "On my underground railroad I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger."

Illustration adapted from anonymous painting





CONSCIENCE AND CUSTOM COLLIDE

From the beginning of our history, a few people responded to the deep contradiction between the ideal of equality for all men and the practice of slavery for some. But it was not until the 1830's and 40's that the anti-slavery movement gained prominence, that the debate between North and South deepened, that the collision between conscience and custom could no longer be contained. Two men were responsible for spear-heading this movement.

William Lloyd Garrison, a white publisher from Massachusetts, undertook to look at slavery as the Negro did, facing—by his own commitment to the cause—his own guilt as well. He said, "I never rise to address a colored audience without feeling ashamed of my own color." He published the influential newspaper, *The Liberator*. In its first year, 90 percent of its subscribers were Negroes. He also founded anti-slavery societies throughout the North. Garrison's constant agitation of the issue played a key role in the confrontation which was to come between North and South.

Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery by borrowing a sailor suit and an official-looking paper with an American eagle on it which he nervously flashed during a hazardous train ride North from Baltimore, Md. A self-educated man of exceptional abilities and imposing physical stature, Douglass quickly became an enthusiast of Garrison's paper, and a popular speaker at anti-slavery meetings. Douglass could tell it like it was. He could make his audience feel and see, touch and hear the anguish of human bondage. In 1847 he decided to buy and print his own paper, *The*

North Star, in which Negro protests about the system could find full expression. Douglass was a close friend of John Brown, and his home in Rochester, N. Y., served as a stop on the underground railroad. He met often with President Lincoln, even participating at presidential invitation in social activities in the capital city, as well as negotiating for the civil rights of Negroes. Among his many appointments after the war, he was marshal of the District of Columbia, recorder of deeds of the District, and minister to Haiti. After years of involvement in political affairs, Frederick Douglass died in 1895, having done more than any other single man for the cause of freedom. At his death, a group of Negro citizens in Americus, Ga., met to contribute to a memorial fund. The most fitting eulogy is found in the minutes of their meeting: "No people who can produce a Douglass need despair."

The Anti-Slavery Movement involved prominent white and black people. The wealthy Tappan family from New York, the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, educators, lawyers, and ministers. Almost all free Negroes were speaking out against slavery. As early as 1817 a large group met together to oppose the American Colonization Society—a society which declared no black man should be free unless he leaves the country. (Four years before Garrison founded *The Liberator*, a group of Negroes from New York were publishing the *Freedom's Journal*.) In 1830, another group published an "Address to Free People of Color of These United States." Out of this effort to unify and organize, grew the first Convention of Color. These conventions made the country aware of Negro positions and did much to dispel the myth of Negro inferiority.

The movement also incurred riots. In 1835, white mobs in Boston, Mass., and Utica, N. Y., broke up meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 caused further trouble. For example, in 1854 it took 2000 soldiers to safely escort Anthony Burns, a captured ex-slave, through the Boston streets to a ship waiting to return him South.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was published in 1852. This sensitive portrayal of slavery, based on an actual account by an escaped slave, thrust into dramatic relief the immoral atrocities of the system. It was a best-seller; and, though published in many languages, its circulation was outlawed in the South. In her own way, Harriet Beecher Stowe added new momentum to the cause of the abolitionists.

An issue of the 1850's which captured national attention was the legal case of the slave Dred Scott. Taken by his master from the slave state of Missouri into the free state of Illinois and later the free territory of Minnesota, Dred Scott had remained away from Missouri for four years. He counted himself a free man and sued for his liberty. In 1857 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Negroes "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," that a Negro was not and could not become a citizen, that Dred Scott had, in fact, no right even to sue. This ruling sounded a clarion call to arms in a nation now divided.

A DIVIDED NATION TRIES TO REBUILD

From the moment the first shot was fired at Fort Sumter, there were deep differences in the aims of those at war. Southern whites fought to preserve a way of life; Northern whites fought to preserve the Union; Negroes in both North and South hoped the fighting would gain them freedom.

For two years, free Negroes in the North were prohibited from serving in the Union army. The basic cause of this closed door was white prejudice. A contributing cause was political expediency. The border states of the Union were slave-holding states and President Lincoln needed their support to win the war; by opening up the arm to blacks he would have lost it. So the President made his priorities clear: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save the Union by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that . . ."

Abraham Lincoln would be remembered as "The Great Emancipator." Though humanitarian motives of the highest order may be attributed to his

A famous charge of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, during the Civil War.



1863 Emancipation Proclamation, it was also true that more troops were desperately needed to help win the war. So one sentence in the Proclamation opened the army to black soldiers. Lincoln dallied with the idea of mass exportation of blacks until 1865 when he received the results of an official investigation pointing out the impossibility of such a scheme.

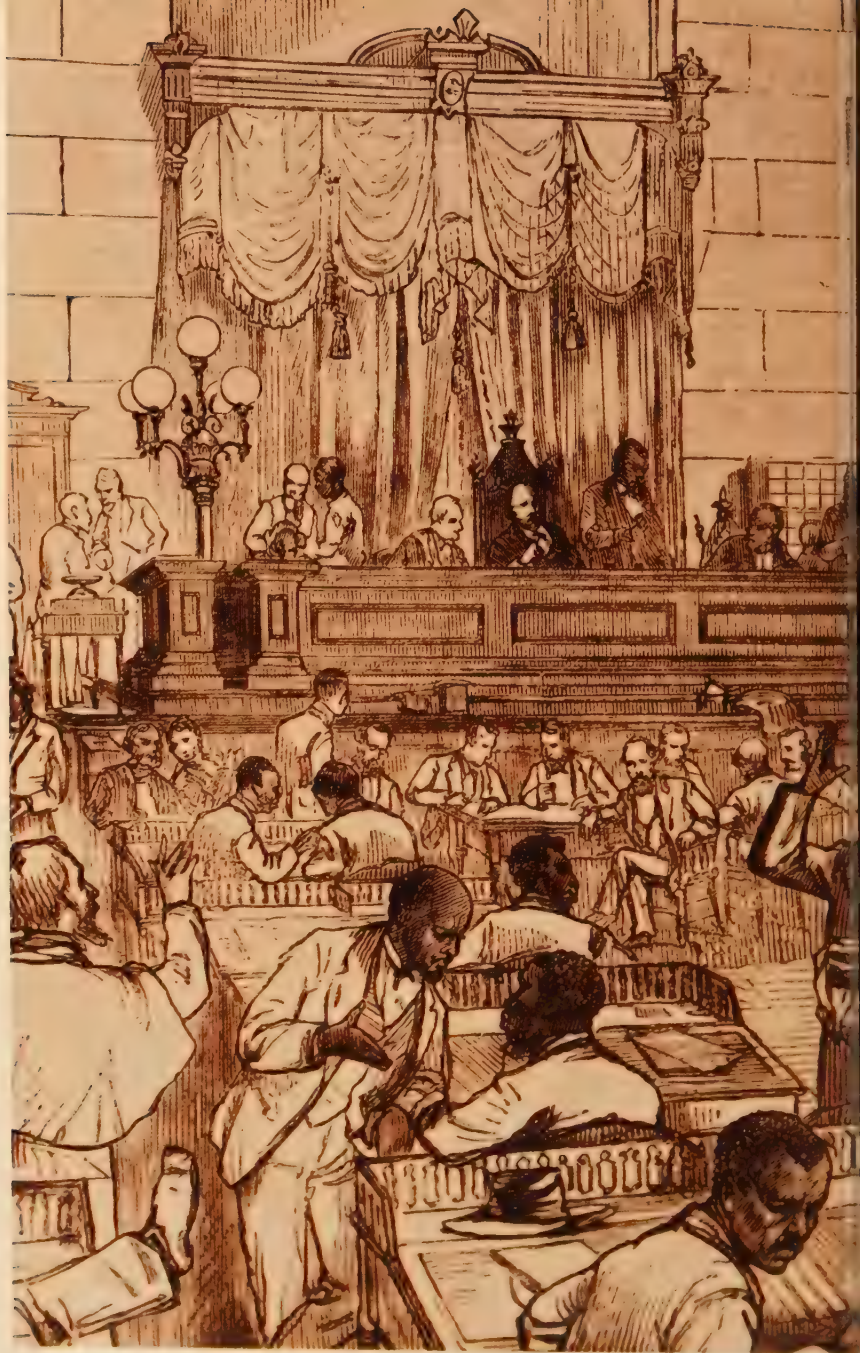
Before the end of the war, 180,000 Negroes had fought for the Union. At first, these segregated regiments were given no uniforms; generally they did the "dirty" jobs of the war; they were paid \$7 a month (whites received \$10), and were under white commanders. But the regiments proved to be skilled and brave groups. One of the more famous battles occurred at Fort Wagner, S. C., where a Negro regiment was the first to storm this highly-armed fort. William Carney won a Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroic participation in this battle. And it was proven that Negro soldiers could form effective, efficient fighting units.

As these forces went against Confederate troops, former white masters were shocked when confronted with black fighting men. Many Negro prisoners of war were tortured and then sold into slavery. And as the Union troops moved South, slaves rushed behind their lines to freedom. The problem of taking care of these "refugees" became a major project for those left at home who sent clothing, food and medicines. From this effort grew the Freedmen's Bureau, a government agency which was directed by the army after the war and which sought to preserve for the Negro the political rights which had been gained by legislation. Before the war was over, Negro regiments had taken part in more than 200 battles, and 36,000 had been killed. Fourteen Negro men won the Congressional Medal of Honor. But in April 1865, their Commander-in-Chief was assassinated.

The ten years following the Civil War mark an unsteady but persistent attempt by the American nation to become a true democracy. It was begun auspiciously enough by the passage of three constitutional amendments: One, guaranteeing freedom to all men; a second, declaring all U. S.-born people to be citizens; and a third, giving all citizens the right to vote.

Two white men were largely responsible for Congressional approval of these amendments and for setting up a plan of reconstruction for the South. But in ten years, both Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner would be dead—along with their dream. Why did the dream fail? Because the Negro was allowed no solid base of economic security from which to exercise his new legal rights. Therefore, from the start these rights were seriously weakened; in the end, they were completely ignored.

The reconstruction years have gone down in history as notorious for their corruption in government and ineptness in politics. Too often these years have been cited as proof of the inability of the Negro to comprehend and manage important affairs of state. However, it is clear that this is a one-sided interpretation of history. Half of the nation was in economic and political ruins. Both white and black took part in the problems and the accomplishments of this decade.





SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE IN 1876

The newly-elected legislatures of the defeated southern states passed many good measures. They rewrote state constitutions which were the most progressive the South had ever known; passed bills providing free public education for all people, adequate welfare benefits and services, better prisons. Many legislators displayed singular forthrightness in their humanitarian concern for all people. Notable Negro leaders arose:

— *Robert Brown Elliott* was educated at Eton College, England, and became a congressman from South Carolina, playing a major role in federal civil rights legislation.

— *Pinkney B. S. Pinchback* was called “young, daring and charming” by his followers. He was a member of both the U. S. Senate and the House of Representatives. For 43 days he was governor of Louisiana until he was impeached by the former governor. His motto was: “I am what I am and I believe in my own nobility.”

— *Robert Smalls* escaped from slavery by disguising himself as the captain of a boat. He became a naval hero during the war, and later was elected to the U. S. House of Representatives. He had many admirers. One story has it that once there was an argument between two of his constituents. One man insisted Smalls was a political genius. The other said, “Smalls ain’t so hot. He ain’t God.” “Yes,” replied the first, “that’s true. But give him time. He’s a young man yet.”

— *Blanche K. Bruce* was born a slave in Mississippi and became the only Negro to serve a full six-year term in the U. S. Senate. Later, he became registrar of the U. S. Treasury, his signature appearing on all paper money.

In 1877 the Reconstruction Era came to an end. In order to settle the disputed election, presidential aspirant Rutherford B. Hayes promised to remove the remaining federal troops from the South—where they had pro-

The burning of a freed
man's school during
riot in Memphis in 1866

New York Public Library
Picture Collection



ected the newly-won rights of the Negro. By this move, he gained the necessary votes from the southern states to win.

Though the post-war period was beset with complex problems, the Negroes did make strides. By 1880, they owned 80,000 acres of farmland in Virginia; 400,000 in Georgia. Negroes also owned more than one and a half million dollars worth of city property. Under the Freedmen's Bureau, colleges were founded: Fisk, Howard, Talladega, and Morehouse. Negroes were no longer punished for reading books. In 1869, the National Negro Labor Congress became the first labor union for the Negro—formed out of necessity, for white unions used discriminatory practices.

But problems were deeply woven into the fabric of post-war life. There was little land available or usable, few tools, no capital, no credit. By 1879, 40,000 Negroes had left the South for jobs in the industrial northern states or for a new life on the frontier. After 1865, there were more than 10,000 Negro cowboys working as ranch hands and wranglers. Others were in the calvary; a Negro unit captured the Indian fort of Geronimo.

Before the war, five out of every six skilled workmen in the South were Negroes: mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths. After the war, as free men, they had a difficult time finding jobs, were underpaid, did the dirtiest jobs, and were discriminated against by poor whites seeking their own place on the economic ladder. In desperation and despair, Negro freedmen drifted into a new form of peonage—the share-cropping system, in which, as tenant farmers dependent upon credit from the landowner, they were forced to become bound once again to the white man.

After 1877, new laws of segregation were initiated. The most important power, the vote, began to slip away. Polls were hidden from black people. Some were only open for one hour just before dawn for the whites to secretly vote. Complicated ballots were used, and votes cast incorrectly in a maze of ballot boxes were nullified. Whites crossed over state lines in order to swell the vote in predominantly Negro states.

But this concerted effort to deny the black man full citizenship did not wait until the end of the Reconstruction period to express itself. As early as 1866 "Black Codes" began closing in on the emancipated people. Curfews in southern towns were set up, traveling Negroes needed identification papers, black orphans were sold as slaves.

Participation in local politics and other responsible positions cost over 10,000 Negroes their lives during the ten years following the Civil War. One 17-year-old girl was murdered for teaching in a freedman's school. As early as 1866, the Ku Klux Klan had its first meeting. Other similar groups were variously labelled: The Knights of the White Camelia, The Red Shirts, Mother's Little Helpers, The Baseball Club of the First Baptist Church. Lynching was aided by the whip, the gun, rope and fire.

In summarizing this post-war period, one historian remarked: "The baby had not begun to walk before men sat down to plan the funeral." (p. 196, *Before the Mayflower*)



These Jim Crow signs were typical of the separation of the races in the use of public water fountains, bathroom facilities, entrances to the buildings, etc.



The term "Jim Crow" originated in 1838 at New York's Bowery Theatre when a white man presented a comic characterization of a Negro. But the term did not become synonymous for a new system of racial segregation until the late 19th century when legal emancipation made it necessary for some whites to build new walls of protection. These walls spanned from trivial laws to profoundly disturbing attitudes. In one South Carolina cotton mill, Negroes and whites were not allowed to look out the same window; on the other hand, one southern gentleman uttered this dictum: "Whenever the Constitution comes between me and the virtue of the white women of the South, I say to hell with the Constitution."

In the American mind earlier ideas became stronger than ever. Since sex and race were irrevocably linked together with the unquestioned assumption that white was superior to black. The result: "In only two other countries—South Africa and Nazi Germany—have men's fears driven them to such extremes." (p. 222, *Before the Mayflower*)

In the dusty years between the end of Reconstruction (1877) and the beginning of the first World War (1914), two men with differing philosophies rose to guide and guard what little stake the Negro could claim in American life.

The first, Booker T. Washington, greatly influenced American Negro life between 1895 and 1915. Born a slave in Virginia, Washington worked his way through Hampton Institute (which trained Negroes in the trades) and then taught in a leaky Alabama school for rural Negroes—"with an umbrella opened over his desk when it rained." This school became Tuskegee Institute. Washington realized that the rural Negro needed to gain

technical skills if he was to grasp the economic opportunities available to him. He said, "There is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem." By hard work and proper training the Negro could work his way up the appropriate ladder.

Washington was called "a man who could make a figure of speech shimmer and dance." At the conclusion of his Atlanta Speech (1895), in which he described the racial situation as one hand with "separate but equal" fingers, there were waves of applause. One reporter wrote a prophetically chilling sentence in his dispatch: "Most of the Negroes in the audience were crying, perhaps without knowing quite why."

In 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson* the Supreme Court wrote a "separate but equal" principle into American law, declaring that racial segregation did not necessarily imply racial inferiority. Meanwhile, Jim Crow laws multiplied with great imagination. In one city in Alabama, it was forbidden for whites and Negroes to play chess together.

Washington's policy of submission seemed to be an invitation to further aggression by whites. In the 1890's, one Negro was lynched every two days or so in the land of the free. In 1906, a race riot in Atlanta in which whites attacked Negroes, 12 blacks died, 70 were injured and many homes burned. Between 1889 and 1921 there were 3,436 lynchings; not one person was convicted for these crimes. In southern construction firms, black chain gangs became part of the scene. And for those who migrated North, the formation of city ghettos awaited their arrival.

A second leader, William Edward Burghardt DuBois, was born in 1868 of African, French and Dutch heritage. He attended high school in Massachusetts and then went on scholarship to Fisk University. He later earned a degree from Harvard, the first doctorate ever awarded to a Negro from that institution. While teaching at Atlanta University, DuBois and a group of friends became agitated by what they considered to be Booker T. Washington's controlling influence over racial affairs in the country. Also they were less concerned with improving the economic situation of the Negro and more concerned with gaining effective political power. In 1906, this group met together at Harper's Ferry, paid tribute to John Brown's memory, and declared: "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. . . . until we get these rights we will never cease to protect and assail the ears of America. This battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans."

Three years later a group of whites, protesting the lynching of a Negro, met together with many of these same Negro leaders and formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—an organization which would claim a decisive role in the fight for legal and political rights during the 20th century. Its magazine, *Crisis*, edited by DuBois, was significant in influencing and enlightening American Negroes. In 1910, the National Urban League was formed by a Negro graduate from Columbia University and a white woman active in the colored woman's rights

movement. The interracial league sought to improve the industrial and living conditions of city Negroes.

During World War I the Navy used Negroes as menials; the Marines rejected them; the Army put them in segregated units run by white officers. In 1917, the widespread enforcement of Jim Crow laws against these fighting men, plus the frequency of lynchings, provoked a Silent Protest Parade of 10,000 Negroes down Fifth Avenue displaying signs reading, "Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?"



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

The 369th Infantry Division became one of the most celebrated Negro fighting groups of the war. One unit of this division stayed 191 days in the trenches and never lost any ground. They were the first American soldiers to cross the Rhine. At the end of the war, an entire regiment of the 369th received the French Crois de Guerre for gallantry. Their band is credited with having introduced jazz to Europe. This story is told. Once the members of a French military band, unable to believe such strange jazz sounds could be produced on ordinary instruments, offered to exchange instruments. The Negroes played just as well, but the puzzled French soldiers could not produce jazz on the American instruments.

Marcus M. Garvey came to Harlem from Jamaica in 1917 and formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association, inspiring in his many followers a new pride in being black. Garvey was dedicated to a back-to-Africa movement among American Negroes. "No one knows when the hour of Africa's redemption cometh. . . ." Garvey proclaimed, "One day like a storm, it will be here." Some people enthusiastically supported this flamboyant appeal to black nationalism, but Garvey's career was short-lived. In 1923 he was convicted by federal court of defrauding the mails. He spent five years in jail and in 1927 was deported to Jamaica.

In the 1920's Harlem became the center of a cultural Renaissance and a new sense of self pride. In drama, poetry, music, painting, fiction-writing, Negroes began to contribute to and enrich American life in new ways. The Charleston, a sign-post of the gay twenties, was a Negro-originated dance. And the Lindy Hop was born at the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem. Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" had its roots in Negro blues. The Mills Brothers, Ethel Waters, and the greatest of them all, blues singer Bessie Smith, spread the message far and wide. O'Neill's "Emperor Jones" opened in Greenwich Village with Charles Gilpin in the lead role. "Shuffle Along," a musical with dancing star Florence Mills, opened in 1921. In 1927



W. E. B. DuBOIS

"Porgy" began a long run in New York and later London with many Negroes in the cast. And in 1930 "Green Pastures" began its popular run on Broadway, closing a decade of brilliant achievement.

Alain Locke's *The New Negro*, an anthology of poetry, stories, essays and pictures captured in its title and contents the new mood. Harlem became a literary mecca. There was Benjamin Brawley (*A Social History of the American Negro*), Claude McKay (*Harlem Shadows*—poetry), James Weldon Johnson's *Book of American Negro*

Poetry, and *The Blues*, edited by W. C. Handy. Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps became the predecessors of Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin.

The internationally-known actor, Paul Robeson, and singers Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes did not limit themselves to conventionally Negro roles and songs. Robeson played opposite white women, and Hayes sang lieder and classical music. But discrimination plagued the arts. In 1939 Marian Anderson was denied entrance by the Daughters of the American Revolution to sing at Washington's Convention Hall. At President Roosevelt's suggestion, on Easter Sunday she sang to the world from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Jelly Roll Morton (pianist), W. C. Handy ("Father of the Blues"), Thomas "Fats" Waller, and in the 30's, Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker made their contribution to our national musical heritage, especially modern jazz. Thelonius Monk, Louis Armstrong, Lionel Hampton and Duke Ellington spread this new music around the world.

Scientists and teachers also reached national and international renown. Rayford W. Logan was head of the Department of History at Howard University. Abram L. Harris was professor of economics at the University of Chicago. Ernest Just became vice president of the American Society of Zoologists. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, was the first man in the world to successfully operate on the human heart. And Dr. Charles Drew discovered blood plasma (which, though it had to be "segregated," played a decisive role in saving lives during World War II). He was first director of the American Red Cross Blood Bank.

But the depression in the 1930's meant for the great majority of Americans hunger, joblessness, and hopelessness. Among these, Negroes were usually "the last hired, and the first fired." Seventy percent of persons on relief in one Alabama town were black. And in Pulaski County, Arkansas,

cotton pickers earned 60 cents a day. "Father Divine" sought to feed the bodies and souls of his followers throughout the nation, until Franklin D. Roosevelt finally initiated federal programs which once again started the economy rolling, and the Negroes along with it. However, even in the New Deal discrimination existed, and most programs did not benefit the lower third of the population.

Perhaps the most memorable Negro in this dark period was Joe Louis—son of an Alabama tenant farmer and school drop out. In 1936, Joe Louis fought Max Schmeling, a German, in Madison Square Garden. For many this fight symbolized white aryan "superiority" in contest with the democratic principles of the free world. Joe Louis was knocked out in the 12th round, and Negroes wept openly on the Harlem streets. But a year later Joe Louis won the heavyweight championship of the world, a title he kept for 11 years (longer than any other boxer), and in 1938 he beat Schmeling with a first round knockout. In 1936, Jesse Owens astounded the world with his running. At the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, when Negroes including Owens went forward to receive medals, Hitler walked out.

The activity of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) with its philosophy of non-discrimination made the alliance between white and black workers seem like something more than just a dream. And in 1941 a Negro labor leader, Asa Philip Randolph, rose to challenge the government's policy of discrimination in industry. Randolph, son of a minister and advocate of nonviolent direct-action, demanded equal employment for Negroes in defense industries. He threatened a March on Washington of 100,000 people. An executive order was issued. There was no march.

During World War II soldiers again learned that fighting for their country brought them no closer to full citizenship. Placed in segregated units before the end of the war their successes under French (rather than American) generals was to raise some eyebrows. About the war, one Negro fighting in the Pacific commented: "Just put on my tombstone 'Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of the white man.'" There were many ironies, but finally one hypocrisy. The United States was fighting against racism in Europe with a segregated army of soldiers. Not until 1947 did the armed forces pull down the walls.

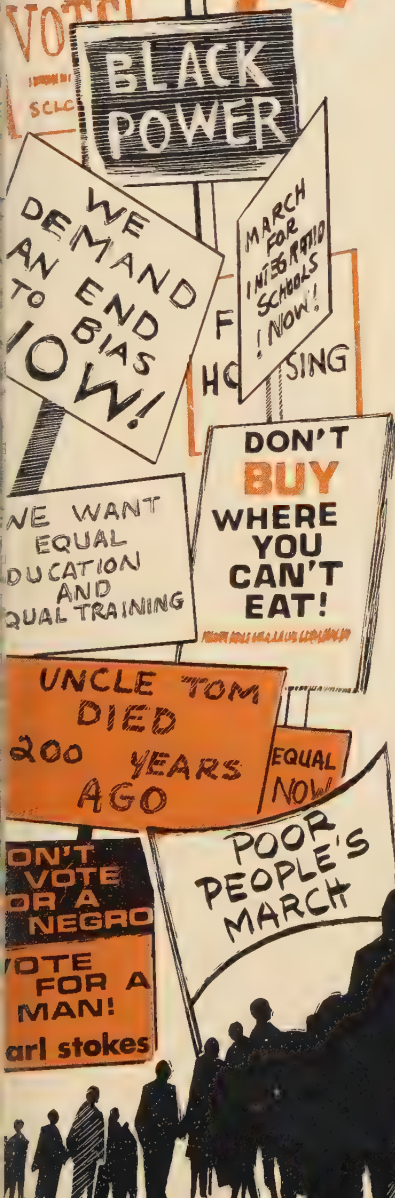
Meanwhile, there were riots at home. In 1943, Detroit underwent two million dollars in damage. Twenty-five blacks and nine whites were killed; fear and hate were born in the city ghettos. In that same year Harlem Negroes looted white-owned stores. But changes were to come though not enough and not soon enough. In 1945 the NAACP decided to attack directly the separate but equal ruling of 1896. It took them ten years to bring this attack to successful fruition—ten years in which many Negro Americans would be deprived of the benefits of the longest and largest post-war boom the nation has ever known.

BLACK REVOLUTION: 1954-1968

On Monday, May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court reversed the 1896 "separate but equal" principle, ruling that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and declaring that school desegregation must begin "with all deliberate speed."

The nation soon discovered that changes could also be wrought through direct action. In 1955, in Montgomery, Ala., Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus. For one year a young minister, Martin Luther King, Jr., led a successful boycott against the Jim Crow policies of that city's public transportation system. In 1957 he became president of a new organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which would coordinate similar efforts throughout the South.

Reaction followed swiftly. White Citizens' Councils were organized in every southern state, dedicated to intimidation, economic reprisal and even murder of those people, black and white, working for change. In 1956, a "Southern Manifesto" by 72 U. S. Representatives and 19 Senators



denounced the 1954 school decision. Some places, such as Prince Edward County, Virginia, abandoned their public school system rather than give in to integration. In other areas, the decision was enforced only with outside intervention. Troops of the 101st Airborne Division escorted nine Negro students into Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

In 1960 the civil rights movement turned a corner. Discouraged by a lack of real change, college students began a "sit-in" at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, N. C., which refused to serve Negroes. In one year, 70,000 whites and Negroes participated in this new attack on the small gestures of segregation which destroy the human spirit. The young members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee identified closely with the sufferings of those whose rights they were trying to win.

In 1961, "Freedom Riders," under the guidance of James Farmer of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), tested segregation policies in interstate transportation facilities, especially busses. Though bombed and beaten, their effort was successful. The NAACP, directed by Roy Wilkins, pressed harder in the areas of legal rights and education. The National Urban League, led by Whitney Young, Jr., set up offices in every major ghetto, with programs in welfare, housing, on-the-job training, education.

The most critical event of 1962 occurred when Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ruled that the University of Mississippi must admit Negro James Meredith. His application had been on file for 14 months. Governor Ross Barnett defied the federal order, thus causing the gravest federal-state crisis since the Civil War. It took 12,000 federal troops to restore order and allow Mr. Meredith to pursue his education.

In 1963 a new urgency swept the land, expressed in the demand "Freedom Now!" Black Muslims, under the spiritual guidance of Elijah Muhammed, preached the doctrine of black nationalism through their charismatic spokesman, Malcolm X. Spring demonstrations in Birmingham, Ala., saw dogs, fire hoses and cattle prods used against demonstrators.

In August, 1963 one quarter of a million people marched on Washington, gathering at the Lincoln Memorial to hear prayers, songs and Dr. King's moving speech "I Have A Dream." Two weeks later four little girls were killed on a Sunday morning when a church in Birmingham was bombed. There were other acts of violence that year. Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary, was shot down. And on a fateful day in November, President John Kennedy was the victim of an assassin in Dallas. A land anxiously awaited a new year and passage of a new Civil Rights Bill.

The new legislation was signed into law on July 2, 1964. The most important part of the bill forbade voting registrars from discriminating against would-be registrants. But we had waited too long. From July to September the first "long, hot summer" of racial turbulence shook our cities: Harlem, Brooklyn, Rochester (N. Y.) Jersey City, Dixmoor (Ill.), and Philadelphia (Pa.). Events in the South caused further alarm. Three young civil

BLACK IS

rights workers were killed in Mississippi. Twenty-two men, including law enforcement officials, were charged with taking part in the crime.

The big push in 1965 was toward the registration of Negro voters. Dr. King concentrated on Selma, Ala. Provoked by police violence a mass march to Montgomery was completed under federal troop protection. Yet, two days later, while driving some marchers back to Selma, a Detroit housewife was killed by four members of the Ku Klux Klan. An all-white jury found the murderers not guilty. But the shame of the nation reverberated throughout the world when, on August 11th, the Watts section of Los Angeles erupted into six days of rioting with 4000 people arrested, 34 killed and damage estimated at 35 million dollars.

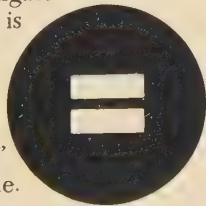
Watts made everyone realize that any number of civil rights bills would not solve the problems of the urban ghettos. In 1966 there were 43 racial disorders throughout the nation. A major one occurred in Chicago, when aggressive police action incurred the hostility of a neighborhood. A week later, the Hough section of Cleveland saw riots, and four died.

Racial conflict in major cities had now become commonplace. In 1967 college students rioted in Nashville and Jacksonville. Stokely Carmichael and H. "Rap" Brown gained national prominence by their forceful call to "Black Power"—a new understanding of self-respect and self-determination. The summer was hotter and longer than before. Tampa, Cincinnati and Atlanta had disturbances. On July 12 the central ghetto in Newark, N. J., reacted to a series of long-term grievances. Five days of fire-bombing, looting and sniping caused 23 to die, and ten million dollars damage. The ability of the National Guard, as well as the local police, to effectively handle this type of warfare was questioned. Soon the city of Detroit was burning. Again, 43 dead, 22 million dollars in damage, the use of large troops—setting a new and deeply tragic national pattern.

In 1968, Martin Luther King sought a new way to express the economic grievances of minority groups. The Poor People's Campaign—a live-in, march-in to Washington, D. C.—was proposed. While this campaign was still in the planning stages, Dr. King traveled to Memphis, Tenn., seeking bargaining power for garbage workers there. On April 4, this apostle of non-violence was shot down. The nation reeled again in disbelief and horror.

Nearly 200 years ago, a few people proclaimed that a democratic nation had been created based on belief in the dignity and equality of all men. In 1968, *The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes of racial turmoil in our nation, stated: "It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens."

It is time.



BEAUTIFUL!

LOVE

DOES NOT BEGIN AND END
THE WAY WE SEEM TO THINK IT DOES.

LOVe IS A BATTLE,
LOVE IS A WAR;
LOVE IS A GROWING UP.

NO ONE IN THE WORLD—
IN THE ENTIRE WORLD—KNOWS MORE—
KNOWS AMERICANS BETTER OR,
ODD AS THIS MAY SOUND, **LOVES THEM**
MORE THAN THE AMERICAN NEGRO.
THIS IS BECAUSE HE HAS HAD TO
WATCH YOU, OUTWIT YOU, DEAL WITH YOU,
BEAR YOU, AND SOMETIMES EVEN
BLEED AND DIE WITH YOU,
EVER SINCE WE GOT HERE, THAT IS, SINCE
BOTH OF US, BLACK AND WHITE,
GOT HERE—AND THIS IS A WEDDING.

Whether I like it or not, or whether you
like it or not, we are bound together
forever. **WE ARE PART OF**
EACH OTHER. What is happening to
every Negro in the country at any time
is also

HAPPENING TO YOU.

Free at last
Thank God Almighty
Free at last!



Martin Luther King, Jr., said:

The world is changing and anyone who thinks he can live alone is sleeping through a revolution. . . . We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools. . . . Racial injustice is still the black man's burden and the white man's shame. . . . The government must certainly share the guilt, the individual must share the guilt, and even the church must share the guilt.

Through our scientific genius we have made of the world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual genius we must make of it a brotherhood.

Our civil rights efforts have not aroused hatred. They have revealed hatred that already existed.

I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' Councilor or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to order than to justice; who prefers negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice.

A man who won't die for some thing is not fit to live.

Even the segregationists know: The system to which they have been committed lies on its deathbed. The only imponderable is the question of how costly they will make the funeral.

Neither repression, massive resistance, nor aggressive violence will cast out the fear of integration; only love and goodwill can do that.

"Oh, my God! No! No! No!"

I was babysitting at the time I learned of Dr. King's assassination. The children were young and didn't understand. I called my boy friend to see if he was watching the TV news—he was! My mother called me to ask if I was watching. I put the children to bed, then turned to the television. I cried at the way white America killed the man who was one of the greatest leaders and human beings alive. I cried because I had not done enough. One cannot do everything, but one must stand true to one's ideals. I watched TV as long as there was anything on. I turned it off when the regular programs returned—I couldn't take it.

My family was as deeply upset as I was. We had read King's speeches sometimes at the dinner table. However, the reactions of the people where I was babysitting that night shocked me. They are good people, but when I asked them if they had heard the news, they said, "Yes. Now we'll have to stop telling Martin Luther King jokes."

—Judy Gottlieb, 17
Milwaukee, Wis.

It seemed as though the kids at our school and in our youth fellowship didn't really care if King was alive or dead. The "cool" joke on the morning after the assassination was: "Boy, am I tired! I just got back from Memphis about an hour ago." There are no Negroes in our community and we'll probably continue not to care.

Lynn Frederick, 17
Hannapee, Ind.



There is an element of God in every man. No matter how low one sinks into racial bigotry, he can be redeemed.

I have discovered that the highest good is love. This principle is at the center of the cosmos. It is the great unifying force of life. God is love. He who loves has discovered the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality; he who hates stands in immediate candidacy for non-being.

Let no man pull you so low as to hate him.

Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend.

Every genuine expression of love grows out of a consistent and total surrender to God.

If any earthly institution or custom conflicts with God's will, it is your Christian duty to oppose it.

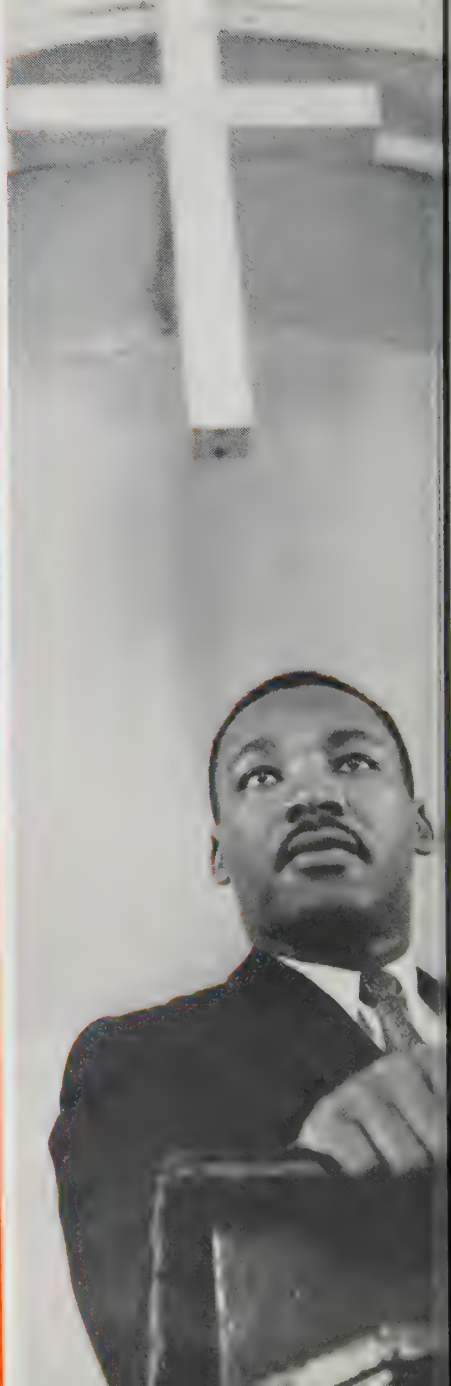
He who is devoid of the power to forgive is devoid of the power to love.

Forgiveness is not an occasional act; it is a permanent attitude.

He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it. He who accepts evil without protesting against it is really cooperating with it.

The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind.

Millions of missionary dollars have gone to Africa from the hands of church people who would die a million deaths before they would permit a single African the privilege of worshipping in their congregation.



A Prayer—April 4, 1968

Lord, a man died tonight,
And I can't seem to understand.

Now that he's dead they praise him.
"A Man of Peace," "He lived with Christ."
Where were these words when they could have had
a deeper meaning, a greater value?

His marches, Lord. His sacrifices.

His faith in the human race.

Were they so very different from your own?
Were these United States his own personal Galilee?
Memphis, his Jerusalem?

He's been watched, Lord.

From the very beginning, he's been watched.
Those "men on the top," those "chosen few."
Watched and worried.

Time marched on, worry turned to fear, then panic.

Here was a man who wouldn't conform.

They were shook!

And now he's dead.

Is this what you meant by

"Take up your cross and follow?"

What has become of the word freedom in our land,
Lord?

Where is the equality that formed
one of the basic principles of our existence?
There's little freedom left. You see equality in the
movies.

Just what does it mean to be an American?

I'm being pessimistic, Lord, but I'm young,
And right now I can't see much else in the future.
Strengthen my faith in our country.

Save us from ourselves.

This man believed in freedom, and he lived equality.
His daily life shouted your gospel
for the whole world to hear,

If it chose to listen.

Forgive those of us who shut our ears.

He's only a man, Lord. He made mistakes.
But he had guts enough to try. For that he had to die. ►
Martin Luther King.

—Ellen Shilt, 15,
Brookfield, Ill.

Great men have courage,
devotion, inner commitment, deep
concern for others, dignity,
strength, and unselfishness. Dr. King
had not only these qualities, but
more!

—Martha Nace, 15,
Dickinson, N. D.

What did he do that was so great?
He advocated non-violence, but
just about every place he went, he
caused riots.—Bruce Christenson, 17,
Granville, N. D.

"Great" is not the word for Dr.
King; I'd classify him as a saint!
He was greatly misunderstood by
many white Americans who some-
how felt he was an "outside agita-
tor." In fact, all he did was to point
out the evils of society that the
peoples had come to accept and
this aroused them. Most of these
people somehow had a sense of
guilt which Dr. King stirred within
them.

—Ed Thomas II, 16,
Milwaukee, Wis.

He had some good ideas, but he
did not go about getting results in
a sensible way.

—Becky King, 15,
New Orleans, La.

He was not misunderstood, but he
was hated. Just because his skin
was black, people were against him.
Those who are prejudiced cannot
be expected to try to understand,
because understanding is too high
above their level of thinking and
judgment.

—Peggy Kovac, 17,
Morgantown, W. Va.

The Negro has not organized for
conquest or to gain spoils. . . . He
merely wants, and will have, what
is honorably his.

While it may be true that morality
cannot be legislated, behavior can
be regulated. It may be true that
law cannot make a man love me,
but it can restrain him from lynch-
ing me. Law does change the habits
of men, and when habits are
changed, there may well be ac-
companying attitudinal changes.
New civil rights legislation rigor-
ously enforced can help mightily
in shaping individuals fit to live in
a more just society.

Many white Americans of good will
have never connected bigotry with
economic exploitation. They have
deplored prejudice, but tolerated
or ignored economic injustice. But
the Negro knows that these two
evils have a malignant kinship.

The Negro needs the white man to
free him from his fears. The white
man needs the Negro to free him
from his guilt. A doctrine of black
supremacy is as evil as a doctrine
of white supremacy.

A riot is the language of the un-
heard. America has failed to hear
that the plight of the Negro poor
has worsened over the years. It has
failed to hear that large segments
of white Americans are more con-
cerned about tranquility and the
status quo than about justice and
humanity.

Some of you have knives . . . arms,
and I ask you to put them up. Get
the weapon of nonviolence, the
breastplate of righteousness, the
armor of truth, and just keep
marching.

Drum Major

black man . . . black . . . civil rights leader . . . head of a southern group . . . the SCLC—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference . . . a black radical—tho 'no Stoke' or H. Rap . . . called Dr.—DDL, not MD . . . a Baptist minister . . . a black man . . .

named after the great reformer . . . regal last name, also . . . same as another man, his father . . . a BD . . . brother is, too . . . all black . . .

professional marcher . . . Memphis . . . Washington (D. C.) . . . Chicago (suburb, actually Cicero) . . . anywhere he feels a need . . . often vacations in jail . . . Birmingham . . . fasts the first 24 hours in jail . . . sometimes a thin black man . . .

a god to some . . . received 1964 Nobel Peace Prize . . . a famous black man . . .

oratory superb . . . never an "ah" between words . . . a stirring voice . . . people listen and obey . . . a respected black man . . .

shot down . . . dies . . . a dead black man . . . many mourn . . . a few rebel . . . thousands honor him . . . placed to rest . . . happy . . . "free at last, free at last" . . . has "seen the mountain" . . . now where he belongs . . . he is free—not dead . . . a faithful Christian . . . a good man . . . "a drum major, a drum major for justice" . . . people remember . . . even some whites . . .

—Dave E. Glidden, 17,
Cornwall Heights, Pa.





Steve Shapiro / Black Star

From an editorial:

... Rev. King stood for and preached "non-violence," but the way some Negroes are acting one would think that he might have preached the destruction of the "white man." I'm not saying not to fight back. I hear more times than I can count the cry of "Black Power" in the streets, at school, with the crowd I run with, and just about everywhere. But the question that I'm most concerned about is "just how much power does the Black Man have?" We can always form a group and walk down streets hollering and yelling, tearing up, grabbing whites or just anybody for that matter, causing a disturbance, and causing just plain trouble. Is that power? Is that Black Power? I, for one, don't think so. Is Black Power something that Rev. King preached? Does Black Power really exist? Black Power will always be

second best until the Black Man realizes that in order to do anything he has to go pass the white man. . . .

Friday night after thinking over all that had happened the evening before, I took it upon myself to write Mrs. Martin King a letter of condolence. Before writing the letter, I had thought of how I could avoid having my letter sound like so many other letters that she would be receiving. But no matter how I tried to avoid it, it always came out the same as any others. It's funny how people never realize what a good thing they had until it's gone. Mrs. King knew she had a good thing, and she knew about it before it was too late. She is a very fortunate woman. I look upon her as having supernatural powers. She was organized, together—anything you would call it. She has accepted the facts that have been thrown at her in the last few days. She is not angered by her husband's death, though she is left with a certain emptiness. Why is it so hard for us to realize that the more she hears about the way we are carrying on over his death, by stealing, and causing a disturbance, it makes Mrs. King feel that her husband has failed in all he has ever tried. If we as Black People resort to violence, and Rev. King preached the opposite, how else could the wife of the late Dr. Martin Luther King feel?

—Francyne A. Le May, 18,
Chicago, Ill.

The history of man is the story of the struggle between good and evil.

In spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. . . . I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. . . . This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountain side, let freedom ring."

I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. This is why right, temporarily defeated, is stronger than evil triumphant.

Nonviolence, the answer to the Negro's need, may become the answer to the most desperate need of all humanity.

I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountain top. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land. So I'm happy tonight. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Can they forgive again?

The King is dead.

Long live the King!

. . . a British statement
of mourning and hope . . .

But, King is dead.

we mourn.

there is no hope . . .

no other man

who can replace him.

Alive, he was maligned by both
those who thought him soft
and those who thought him
radical:

Communist, troublemaker, Uncle
Tom.

how could one man be both?

No. Rather he was the man
neither side understood,
or wanted to.

A man of peace,
seeking his brother
who is lost.

We are that brother and must let
his Brothers know we under-
stand
his blood is on our hands.

Can they forgive again,
after so much forgiving?
How can we ask them to?

—Laura Jean Mashrick

More than meets the eye...



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THE LOCAL MEDIA TRUST, DENVER

A shot! Did I hear a shot?

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Relax! If those roughnecks from the ghetto come over here,
we'll simply lock the service entrance.





AS A MATTER
OF RACIAL
PRIDE WE
WANT TO
BE CALLED
"BLACKS."



WHICH HAS
REPLACED
THE TERM
"AFRO-
AMERICAN"



WHICH
REPLACED
"NEGROES"



WHICH
REPLACED
"COLORED
PEOPLE"



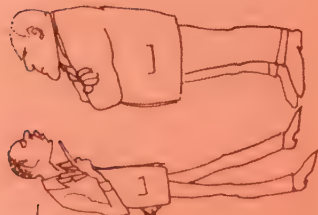
WHICH
REPLACED
"DARKIES"



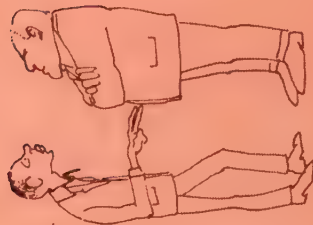
WHICH
REPLACED
"BLACKS."



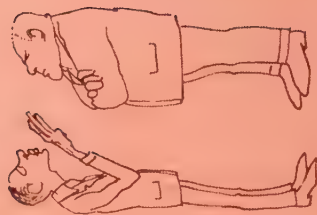
I TRIED
GOING
—
THROUGH
THE
COURTS.
AND
THAT
DIDN'T
WORK.



I TRIED
FREEDOM
—
RIDING.
AND THAT
DIDN'T
WORK.



I TRIED
SITTING IN.
—
AND THAT
DIDN'T
WORK.



I TRIED FREE-
DOM MARCHING.
—
AND THAT
DIDN'T
WORK.



I'M TRYING
—
RIOTING.
THAT DOESN'T
SEEM TO BE
WORKING
EITHER.



WHAT IS IT
YOU PEOPLE
—
WANT?



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It's scary. We talk about the riots we're going to have this summer as if there's nothing we can do about it.

black

&

WHITE

It is up t o

Are we really hearing what's being said by black youth? Are white youth speaking up honestly? How much do we know what we're talking about? How well do we know those to whom we're listening? What are we going to do about it? How do YOU react to these voices of other youth?

If you whites want to shut out the problems of the world, you can shut them out. . . . Get understanding! Don't try and fool us. I'm not going to change. I'm waiting for you to change. . . . I'm not asking you to change back there in the past history. I'm asking you to change now.

—Calvin Haupt, 16, Washington, D.C.

I'm glad I live in New Hampshire. This summer we'll be sitting back watching the cities burn again "live, in color, and competitively." My favorite show will be "Watch 'em Burn," starring black America and the four blind mice.

—L. Michael Tierney, 17, Laconia, N.H.

A group of white people coming to a ghetto take a bus ride. A lot of these kids live out in middle-class areas, white suburbs. They join the YMCA and all this stuff because they don't have nothing else to do. You know, they don't have no streets to run down. And so they all join a YMCA or a church group, just so they can get away from home. And the church group, you know, lets them come down—"Hey, we're going to let you go down and see some black people." I mean, this is just like saying, "Hey, we're going to let you go to the zoo," or "we're going to take you down to the swamps, and see those little black monkeys." And the kids jump to this kind of thing, but they're not really coming on their own. Someone sets this up: "This is going to be a good thing. The church ought to be concerned about what's happening in the city. We'll go down there and we'll talk to these guys." And we're saying that's phony.

—Terry Freeman, Cleveland, O.

I was brought up in integrated schools in California. The people in high school here in Florida who criticize the Negro most are the ones who have never met a Negro teenager. If the kids could just get together, whether in school or Christian clubs, a lot of the prejudices learned in the homes could be understood and removed.

—Joy Clingman, 17, Jacksonville, Fla.

Integration is not working. The fallacy of integration is that blacks are losing their identity. Civil rights and integration has changed to human rights and self-realization.

—Roger Newell, 17, Washington, D.C.



BELLE



LINDA



RANDOLPH

*You have to learn to
accept who you are*

If you could spend some time together talking—like a weekend or a week in the summer in mutual territory like out in the country, you can really get to know each other. When we've had sessions like that, the white adults pull the kids back when the kids start really thinking or when the contacts start getting kind of close. The adults make kids feel like they shouldn't get close. And this is wrong. See, rather than saying, "O.K., don't mess with those black people," or "I'm prejudiced," or "You should be skeptical talking to them," they just say, "Well, we've got to cut it short." And then they'll take the kids on back home. And you'll never see them again.

—Terry Freeman, Cleveland, O.

When we start depending on each other, that's when we get along with each other. With integrated schools, they start out young associating with colored people, then when they've grown up, they'll know what it is to be associated with us. White kids are just like us, even though they may grow up in a different environment. There's no difference. The best thing is just to get the prejudice out first, and then everything will be all right.

—Randolph Robinson, 17, Washington, D.C.

In our school last fall there was a small group of Negroes pushing black power. There was unrest and trouble that spread throughout the whole school. Soon after a panel of white and colored kids was set up and there

were assemblies where the kids—black and white—spoke their piece. Also, recently, we had a "soul day" which was covered nationally on TV where the Negro kids did a whole assembly by themselves on the life of Negroes from Africa all the way up to the present day life of Negroes and their "soul" music.

—Kris Wunsch, 16, Portland, Ore.

I don't look at anybody by their color. I look at them by their personality and by their ability to do things. That's what I'm looking at in a person. Ugly is the way you act, and that goes also for color. All men are the same, except one man is a little darker or a little lighter.

—Robert Ellis, 17, Washington, D. C.

Being a white teenager living in the suburbs is like being helpless to do anything on behalf of the Negro—I feel that my hands are completely tied.

—Linda Grimes, 17, Greensboro, N. C.

When a baby is born, the baby doesn't have a choice—he doesn't know what happened. As you grow up in this environment, you have learned that black was ugly. That's why you refuse to be called "black." "Negro" is the trade name the white man has given us. And why do you want to be called "colored"? You have to learn to accept who you are; and if you are black, you are black. There are many colors. The white man, the Chinese, the Indian, and you are all colored. But you are black.

—Belle Johnson, Washington, D. C.

During the first part of school, many persons were "humiliated" because they had to sit next to a Negro student. However, many of us became friends with them, and we have not had any racial difficulties.

—Becky King, 15, New Orleans, La.

Some of the whites are O.K. But I would say some of them—like when I get on a bus sometimes I sit down beside them and they'll be talking nice, you know. And sometimes when I sit down beside them, they get up and move. I just laugh at them, because I think it's stupid. But some of them are all right.

—Veronica Wheeler, 18, Baltimore, Md.

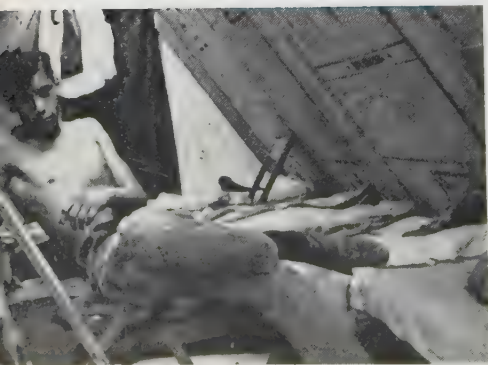
I came here to protest everything, but the main thing I came to protest is the low-income jobs. It's not enough to feed and clothe me. I need more money. It's ridiculous—2000 people here, 26, 27, 28 years old, they ain't got no jobs. They should have jobs. I don't see what they expect this country being if they don't give nobody no jobs but the white man. So if you've got no education, they'll say you need to go to college. If you say you went to college, they'll say they'll call you when they need you. Or they'll give you a job and pay you \$4000 or \$5000 difference than they would the next college grad that is white. So, either way, a colored man just has a hard time. It don't make sense, because he's having a hard time. You want us to fight next to you in Vietnam. When we get back home, you don't want us in your schools, you don't want to associate with us in no kind of way. It don't make sense!

—David Griffin, 28, Milwaukee, WI

You learn a lot from us. Take, for instance, the dances. Some of the rock 'n roll dances that your teenagers do and our teenagers do—we are the dancers; you are learning. Your singing style comes from us. You scream and holler; that comes from us. Your Negro spirituals come from our forefathers. Like the watusi—you do it, we are it. It's as simple as that. All the dances you do come back from the tribes in Africa. They made them. We just changed them a little bit and you do them. You learn from us. Some of you can't do them—not halfway decent.

—Reginald "Duke" Blunt, Dover, DE

"DUKE"



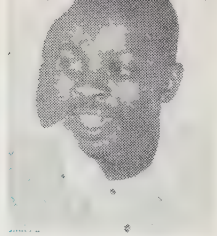
*I came here because
I need a decent job*





WILLIAM

*It takes work
to overcome
prejudice*



"SKEETER"

the answer is to live and let live. I realize that some people are prejudiced, but this cannot be overcome overnight. —Rebecca Hinson, 16, Lancaster, S. C.

The white boys, grey boys, have so much stuff put in front of them, man; they don't work for nothing. Now it's just like a car. Here we are—16, 17, 18—and we ain't got a car. Now these grey boys, man, they have so many cars—I mean, everybody has a car. I've stood out there at this shopping center. They would jump out of one car and jump into John's car and then John would pull around the corner and go around the block and stop. Man, they would get out and go into George's car. And they're driving brand-new cars, man. Their old man buys them everything. They don't work for nothing, man. And if they need a job, all the relatives have some job placement. How can they be with us when they're in this class? Right? They even think differently.

—Deryl Lancaster, Cleveland, O.

Having a white teenager living in the suburbs is like a cow in the middle of green pasture, whose only concern is that she doesn't run out of grass.

—William L. Dennett, 17, Tacoma, Wash.

Having a black teenager living in a ghetto must be like being in jail—the only fast way out is illegal.

—Bill Sheppard, 18, Maple Shade, N. J.

There are two ways to address white people. First, through their conscience; second, through their pocket books. Conscience addressing is failing. Therefore, the pocket book is the only way. —Roger Newell, 16, Washington, D. C.



JUDY



HERMAN

*We must seek justice,
not only law and order
for our society*

In the winter you can hardly sleep in some of the houses in the ghetto because they're so cold. It's just not right, because these landlords have warm house to go to. If you ask for repairs on your houses, they probably say, "Yeah, I'm going to do it." And when the time comes around, they never show up. But when rent time comes around, they are there to collect the money.

—Veronica Wheeler, 18, Baltimore, Md.

Right now I'm trying to take up carpentry, because that's what I'm really interested in and I know how to read blueprints and everything like that already. I'd like to get married, if I can get the right job, put some money in the bank, and get me a little two-story house . . . and try to get me a nice car. You see, the reason I want to be a carpenter is I want to build my own home—myself. In that case, I would want to go out—not too far out—just suburbs—or out in the country somewhere. A little piece of land to build me a house where it wouldn't be too far to get to work every day. Where it's peaceful and quiet.

—Philip "Skeeter" Hudson, Baltimore, Md.

What frightens me most is that the Negro population will want to seek revenge for being so badly mistreated for so long. Here in Canada, the Negro represents a much smaller proportion of the population, but at least he is regarded as an equal citizen.

—Bonnie Lennox, 17, Belleville, Ontario

I am afraid of violence, mostly because I am just not the revolutionary sort. I am afraid that violence would turn many people against Negroes. Violence can't change people, but it can shake them up—maybe they need to get a bit "shook" before they'll get up and move. But the people who suffer the most are the Negroes.

—Judy Gottlieb, 17, Montreal, Quebec

the possibility of civil war—between the Negroes and the whites—is very frightening. Maybe the Indians and other races would join with them, too, and the U. S. would be "run over."

—Betty Flemmer, 17, Mobridge, S. D.

We really can't say you gain anything by rioting. You just make the other person feel scared, that's all. Really you're forcing a person to do something which could cause a bad backlash. It happens when you force a person to do anything. In the long run, it hurts your own situation, because the white people are more prejudiced than they ever were.

—Wendell Marshall, 18, Baltimore, Md.

Violence works. People in the ghetto know it. Since our own revolutionary days, violence made this country. Only now it's going to be plain insurrection by the ghetto dweller. He's going to read Mao and Che—not Martin Luther King, Jr. We don't have just simple law-breaking; we've got insurrection by a whole section of society. We've got to change our values and priorities long set by the Protestant ethic—the church has long been the foundation of our racist society. We must equate society with justice—not just law and order. Institutions must be honestly evaluated—above all, the church.

—Brian Clark, 18, Milton Freewater, Ore.

White people try to judge all Negroes by what a few Negroes do. Because it is, there are bad Negroes and there are good Negroes. There are so bad white people and good white people. So they shouldn't judge us by a few.

—Herman McAllister, 17, Washington, D. C.

Racial tensions will never cease. The trouble with the Negroes that are causing these riots is that they don't want to be equal to the white man, they want to be better than the white man. As for answers, I don't think there are any. We will have to put up with it for a long time.

—Bruce Christianson, 17, Granville, N. D.

The urban crisis is basically a struggle for power. A number of people in our cities have been voiceless and powerless for a long time, and consequently, have had no way of changing their situation. They have either

been ignored or exploited, or they have had to accept prescriptions for their problems from those in power. *They must be given their fair share of power. They must be listened to*—or they will make themselves heard through even more violence and destruction. Those of us who are concerned must work *with* the unheard people for a change in the power distribution.

—JoAnn Yukimura, 18, Lihue, Hawaii

When a Negro moves into the suburbs, he falls into this phony system, like—we are all making this big money now, so let's be cool, you know. We ain't supposed to fight no more. Well, this is what the white put into the black people's minds. Once you get out of the ghettos, you don't fight no more, like the grey dudes. They don't fight near as much as we do. Like, I know some white dudes here in Western Reserve (college) who have never been in a fight before—a kid 20 years old—never been in a fight before. And this fellow's broad—her parents never touched her—like she's never been hit before—never. Like you get a broad off the streets here, she's got more battle scars than you.

—Terry Freeman, Cleveland, Ohio

Urban problems, poverty, poor education, unemployment, ignorance, and racism all breed themselves into succeeding generations unless a social organization reaches in and interacts with cause and effect, interceding "reform." The church, as a human-concerned institution must be involved here, because this is what Christianity is all about. Christianity is a hand of human love and compassion that can bind all of the powers and talents of men into a happy, sane, free-heart, existence for them.

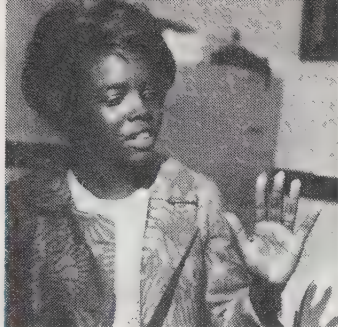
—Kristi St. Amant, 18, Hood River, Oregon

JOANN



*People should
listened to
and given power*

I want to make
this world
a better place



ELAINE



MATTIE

The biggest thing that a white youth can do is to make money available from the white adults to the black community. And cut it loose.

—Roby Lancaster, Cleveland, O.

We've found out that you just can't tell the older generation about how ridiculous their prejudices are. They probably won't even understand. It's the people of our own generation that must repair their worn-out philosophies. And the only way to rid oneself of prejudice toward a group is to get to know someone in that group. In that way their problems and beliefs become first-hand knowledge rather than second-hand experience or rumors spread by older people. This will get rid of the ignorance that causes prejudice.

—Margie Sturges, 17, Ravena, N. Y.

You can tell a "soul brother" by how he feels toward blacks, not by the color of his skin. It's your attitude. Nobody's soul is black; it's how you feel. The two white women who work with our Gaye Supremes are one with us; they're like "soul sisters."

—Mattie Johnson, 17, Washington, D. C.

So many of the white people don't understand that it's our fault the colored people have to march and even riot to get their rights. I believe riots are wrong, but I think the white people drive them to it. But as the Negroes riot, white hate grows. This frightens me because I wonder where it will end.

—Joy Clingman, 17, Jacksonville, Fla.

In the days ahead I want to use the resources I have to make this world a better place. I don't want to pick it up just for Negroes, but for whites, too. If we want the white man to help us, we've got to help him, too. We can't always be asking for help just for ourselves.

—Elaine Jackson, 17, Washington, D. C.

WHERE DO YOU FIT IN?

When faced with the racial crisis today, we're often tempted to say, "But what can I do? After all, I'm only one person."

It's a complex, deeply-personal, highly-emotional, but very obvious crisis. And it's especially hard when we can't even find support for understanding and action among our own friends—and within our own family.

Where do you fit in? What can you do?

You are a person.

You want to be liked for what you really are and not for what others think you are. You want to have a happy home life, where you can get angry once in a while and still feel part of the family. You want to swing with the times, but not be overwhelmed by it all. When things go wrong, you blame everyone and everything else but yourself. You want to do what's right but you are disappointed with yourself when you don't. You often ask for help in strange ways, especially when your first requests are not heard. You have dreams for tomorrow, but they are nothing until they can be shared with the right people and come alive with ripe opportunities.

Can you expect others to feel anything less?

What is it like to be a human being with black skin? Read the Negro authors who tell it like it is. Or read a book such as *Black Like Me* by a white man who passed for black. Or try to meet a Negro spokesman, or be part of a weekend or week-long meeting with Negro youth, or get to know a Negro well enough so that you can level with each other. If daily events put you side by side with Negroes, discuss things that are important to you and learn what's important to them.

To know and accept the humanness that thrives within others is to give meaning to all that you are and want to be. That's what makes for "soul," brother!

You are a people.

You identify yourself and find fulfillment in relationship with persons of many groupings—your family, neighborhood, church, school, community or state or nation, and, finally, Homo Sapiens. Each grouping has its history and heritage. Each has its ways of handling its members. Each has its ties that bind you as a people. These are your people. What affects one, affects

1. You cannot turn your back on the exploitation of, or injustice against, any one of your people, if you are true to your responsibility to, and respect for, your people, whether it be as a son or daughter, or a neighbor, Christian, a student, a citizen, or as a human being. What makes me one with the Negro? What is our common heritage? What rights and responsibilities as a people do we share? How is the Negro exploited? How are the economic, political, and social structures of our society unjust toward the Negro? How can these injustices be corrected? Who are the decision-makers? How can they be made to see beyond injustice in a better way? Do the Negroes want "outside" help?

You are a conscience.

You have your own built-in sense of right and wrong. It is continually being shaped and tested by people and events all around you, by insights learned from the past, by faith in something that's not fully understood, aided by a growing knowledge within a fast-changing world. Your perspective on life is open to growth. The maturing person

POWERLESSNESS

When you ask me what you can do, I already assume by the very fact that you ask the question that you haven't recognized where the problem lies. If you say that this is a country based on equality and freedom, and if equality and freedom don't exist, then the question I have for you is: "What's wrong with America?" And if what's wrong with this country depends on who controls it and if you know who controls it, what then becomes your role in making it change? My question to you, then, is: How does America really operate? And then: Where can you begin to apply the pressure—collectively not individually? You must do it collectively, for you cannot do it by yourself.

—Phil Mason

is always exploring the unknown while testing the obvious, keeping up-to-date while studying the faith and wisdom of prophets and sages, supporting those who speak up with courage and truth while protesting that which is false, phony, unjust and exploitive.

What do psychologists say about people who boost their own ego by running down others? What does the Bible say about the dignity of man and about loving one's neighbor? What did the Founding Fathers have in mind when they talked about equality, freedom, and democracy?

Every day a racist joke is told; do you laugh, too? Every day a minister is threatened because "he talks too much about race;" do you remain silent? Every day the newspaper reports the latest slur against the dignity of the black man; do you turn quickly to the comics?

You are a listener.

You listen to learn. But you also listen to let another know you really care. A good listener always responds—sometimes to agree and sometimes not to agree with ideas or information

given, but always to accept the person as a person.

In the tension between white and black, are you hearing what is being said in words—and without words—by the non-violent advocates, by the militants, by the black extremists, by the white racists, by the white liberals, by the candidates for office, by the mayor of your town, by the police chief, by the poor, by the rich. . . . ? Would any group of which you are a member be willing to enable persons of opposing views to talk to one another on an equal basis, or at least talk to your group one at a time?

You are a voice.

If something is important to you, it is worth saying. And you say it as you feel it will best be heard. Your language may be the written word, the spoken word, a picture, a song, a deed. But it must be you at your best.

Have you ever written a letter to criticize or commend an editor or to encourage a Negro leader whom you respect, or to tell your congressman your position—pro or con—on upcoming legislation or to welcome a young black couple into your neighborhood?

A TEXTBOOK FOR ACTION . . .

There can be no more important textbook in schools, churches, Hi-Y clubs, and civic groups than the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Bantam Books, 1968, paperback, \$1.25, 609 pages). Known also as the "Kerner Report" and the "riot study," it deals with the most pressing issue facing the U.S. today. It is honest and bold for a government-affiliated report. It is easily available, much criticized, and widely accepted as a base of understanding of what's going on in our cities and what can be done about it. It is complex, but well organized for individual research or for systematic study by any serious-minded group of which you're a member.

The report cites "white racism" as the chief cause for the fact "that our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Eradicating white racism, eliminating the ghettos, and providing equality for all Americans is "the major unfinished business of this nation," says the report, and there can be "no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience."

The introduction to the report is *must* reading whether you read the rest or not. The report itself is divided into three parts: "Part I: What Happened?"; "Part II: Why Did It Happen?"; and "Part III: What Can Be Done?" In your social studies class or in your youth fellowship, you might set up three "task forces" of five to ten persons each to study these sections. Each task force would have three assignments: (1) to evaluate the national picture; (2) to apply the same questions to your own local community; and (3) to find ways to do something constructive about any local problems you uncover.

A very helpful study-action guide on this Kerner Report is to be found in the Winter/Spring edition of *Focus*, a national publication of the United Church of Christ giving clues for the youth ministry. For 20 cents each, copies of *Focus* can be ordered through the Office of Literature Sales, United Church of Christ, 1505 Race St., Phila., Pa. 19102.

or to comment on local real estate policies—good or bad, or to volunteer your help where help is needed most, or to protest or support a TV or radio program or the showing of a film locally? Have you ever phoned a “talk” radio program to give positive answers to counteract the frequent negative comments of extremists? Have you ever made posters, or written a poem, or composed a song to express your feelings about the brotherhood of man? Have you ever joined a public demonstration or a mass march to call the public’s attention to an injustice or to praise a deed well done?

The voice of youth is listened to today, especially when it shows that the speaker knows what he’s talking about, that he has some well-thought-through goals he hopes to achieve, and that he is willing to enter into honest discussion with opposing views as long as his own views are sincerely listened and reacted to.

And if you do *not* speak, beware that your silence may say what you do not want it to say. ▼

TV ... OF BLACK AMERICA

CBS-TV is presenting a major news series this summer focusing on the heritage, history, contributions, and present perspective of the Negro in America. It is an effort to help both the Negro and the White understand that historical errors and omissions make it impossible to have a sense of human identity, dignity, and justice.

The series covers the following subjects:

July 2—"Black History: Lost, Stolen, or Strayed." (Host: Bill Cosby)

July 9—"The Black Soldier"

July 16—A small world discussion among African leaders and leaders of the American black community.

July 23—A report on the variations of public opinion in America.

July 30—Sports and Music.

August 13—"Slavery and Little White Lies"

August 20—The story of three 17-year-old black American teenagers and their experiences and reactions on a visit to Ghana. (Miss Mattie Johnson of Washington, D. C., who is quoted in this issue of YOUTH, is one of the three teens on the program.)

OTHER SOURCES ...

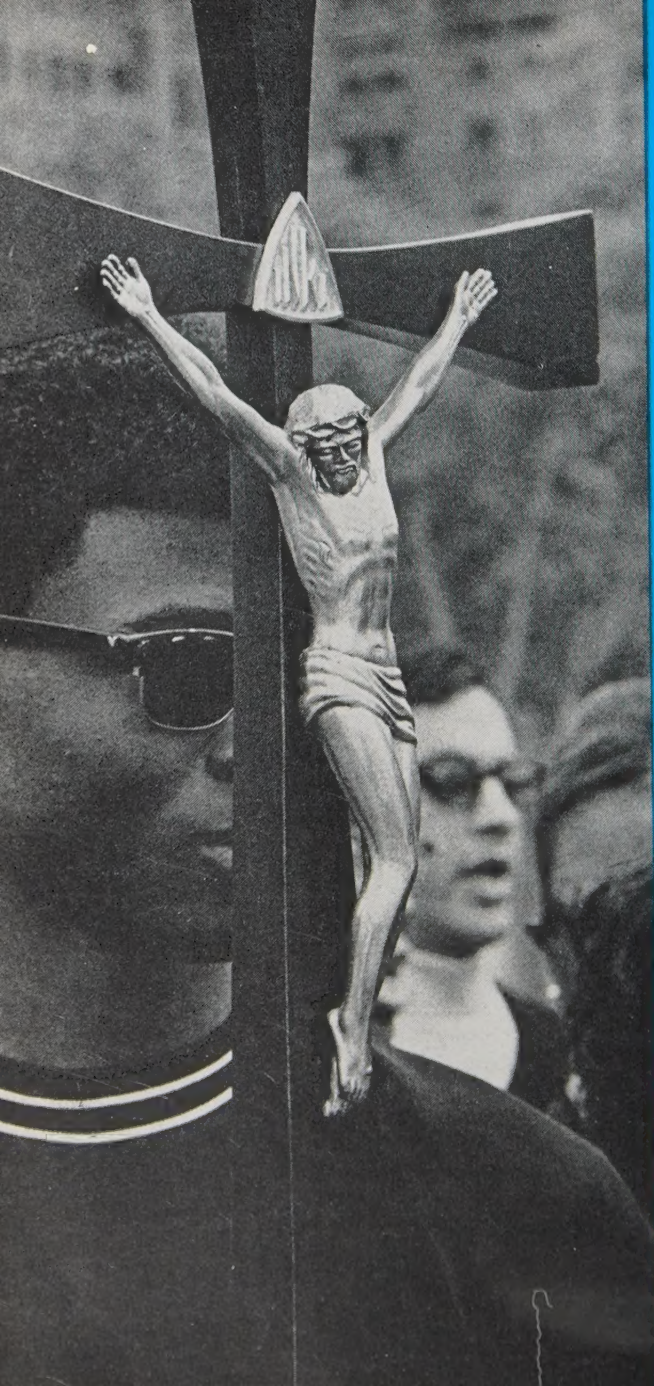
The list of recommended books, pamphlets, films, etc. is so long that we decided to print a bibliography on Negro history and the racial crisis. This free listing is available to anyone who writes to YOUTH requesting it.

HOW TO USE THIS ISSUE . . .

1. *As a resource for social science classes:* With this as a beginning, why not do further study in some area suggested by this issue and write an in-depth report or term paper for a history, civics, or problems of democracy class? Or, why not read one of the many novels based on racial problems, or written by black authors, for an English class book report?
2. *As a resource for youth fellowship discussion or your church school class:* A church school class could spend the fall semester studying Negro history instead of the regular church school curriculum. Your youth fellowship could use this issue as a resource for a series of sessions or a week-end retreat.
3. *As a means for encouraging dialogue between your church and your school:* This is an area about which both church and school are concerned, and could be one place where they can work together.
4. *As a resource for study-action programs.* This issue of YOUTH could be used in a variety of situations to encourage youth study-action programs. It could be used in the white suburban ghetto, or in the black ghetto, or in a confrontation situation in which both black and white youth plan and study together to act to address the issues of racism.

5. *As a means for parent-youth dialogue:* Talking over vital issues, such as racism, misunderstanding, and injustice, with your parents is important. This issue could provide a background for such conversation.

Perhaps other ideas of how to use this issue of YOUTH will occur to you. However you find to use it, we'd like to know! Write and let us know your reactions to the present racial crisis, whether or not you agree with what is said in this issue of YOUTH, and your own ideas about solutions and your own experiences.



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